

Nicaraguan contras murder two missionaries

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — On New Year's Day U.S.-backed contras assassinated two missionary workers in the northern Atlantic Coast region of Nicaragua. The killings were part of a step-up in terrorist attacks on civilians in the wake of the U.S. invasion of Panama.

Teresa Rosales Dixon, a Miskito Indian from the Atlantic Coast, and Maureen Courtney from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, members of the Catholic order of the Sisters of St. Agnes, were killed in an ambush. Paul Schmitz, auxiliary Catholic bishop of Bluefields, and Francisca Colomer Kramer, a Miskito Indian, also of the Sisters of St. Agnes, were wounded.

Schmitz and Colomer are in satisfactory condition in the Military Hospital in Managua.

The Sisters of St. Agnes is based in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. The order has maintained a mission on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua since 1945.

Members of the order here in Managua, said Courtney, had worked in Miskito communities along the Coco River for seven years. "Maureen was helping rebuild a clinic in Waspán that had been destroyed," one said. "Teresa worked with her, giving sewing classes to women up and down the river."

The order has taken no official position on who is responsible for the killings.

The group had been traveling to a religious meeting in the town of Puerto Cabezas on the Atlantic Coast.

Schmitz said that a rocket or grenade hit the truck. "Immediately afterward, the attackers opened fire on the vehicle. We yelled out and identified ourselves as religious workers," he said. "No one approached the vehicle. An hour later the compañeros from the Sandinista army arrived."

"There is no doubt it was the contras" who killed Rosales and Courtney, said parish priest David Zywiec from Puerto Cabezas. "When I was told about the attack, I couldn't believe it. They were working for peace."

Lt. Col. Juan Lorenzo Santana of the Nicaraguan army said the contras who ambushed the truck had been in the area for several weeks, having come from the south-central area of the country where they had been attacking farm cooperatives and killing peasants.

The Ministry of Defense has reported that in five separate incidents from December 27 to 29 the contras killed two peasants and kidnapped seven people. The attacks took place in the southern Atlantic Coast region and in north-central and southern Nicaragua.

Tentative pact announced in miners' strike at Pittston

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

CHARLESTON, W.Va. — A tentative contract agreement was announced New Year's Day in the nine-month miners' strike against Pittston Coal Group.

More than 1,900 members of the United Mine Workers of America in Virginia, Kentucky, and West Virginia struck Pittston, the largest U.S. metallurgical coal exporter, on April 5, 1989. The miners had worked the previous 14 months without a contract, following Pittston's refusal to sign the 1988 national coal pact.

During the first seven months of the strike virtually no negotiations occurred. Then, in late October, U.S. Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole appointed former labor secretary William Usery, as special mediator, and mar-

U.S. troops 'walk streets like they own Panama'

BY SELVA NEBBIA

Gen. Manuel Noriega turned himself in to U.S. troops outside the Vatican mission in Panama City January 3. He was quickly hustled to Miami where he is to be tried in U.S. courts. President George Bush announced at a press conference shortly after Noriega's surrender that all four objectives of the December 20 invasion had been achieved.

Bush explained the goals were to "safeguard the lives of American citizens, help restore democracy, protect the integrity of the Panama Canal Treaties, and bring Gen. Manuel Noriega to justice." Bush added that U.S. occupation forces would remain in Panama for the time being.

Since the U.S. invasion more than 27,000 U.S. military personnel, including 12,000 troops that were stationed in Panama before December 20, continue to occupy that Central American country of 2.3 million people.

Union officials and others in Panama estimate that the invasion may have left as many as 2,000 dead, as well as thousands wounded and up to 25,000 homeless. Two weeks after the invasion, exact civilian casualty figures have not been made public. On December 27 U.S. authorities reported 254 Panamanian dead were counted at the Santo Tomás and Social Security hospitals. An "undetermined" number of others were said to be buried in common graves or still lying on the streets.

According to the U.S. Southern Command, U.S. military casualty figures stood at 23 killed and 323 wounded. Panamanian military casualties stood at 297 killed and 123 wounded.

According to a report in the *Washington Post*, U.S. military spokesperson Lt. Col. Jerry Murguia, at a December 24 press briefing, acknowledged that many "who died on the streets were not identified or counted before being buried."



Impact Visuals/Les Stone

Heavily armed U.S. troops continue to occupy Panama more than two weeks after invasion. Estimates of dead and wounded run into the thousands.

At a mass grave in Panama City's Jardín de la Paz Cemetery, neighbors reported seeing six U.S. truckloads of bodies arriving during the first week of the invasion.

"Investigations by various human rights organizations made at hospital morgues, city cadaver depositories, common graves, and in other sites indicate that there are more than 2,000 dead," Fernando Falcón,

organizational secretary of the Authentic Federation of Independent Workers (CATI) explained in a telephone interview from Panama January 2.

Víctor Rodríguez of the Panamanian magazine *Diálogo Social* reported, "It is hard to find out the exact figures of the casualties because the country is under the control of

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Machinists' strike, stiff competition deal heavy blows to Lorenzo's Eastern

BY SUSAN LaMONT

The closing weeks of 1989 were not good ones for Frank Lorenzo, head of Eastern Airlines' parent company, Texas Air Corp. And the new year looks like it won't be any better.

Despite its claims to be rebuilding and heading toward profitability, Eastern is reeling under the combined blows of a 10-month-

long strike by thousands of International Association of Machinists members and intensifying competition in the airline industry.

Although the Machinists' strike has sustained some setbacks, the walkout remains solid. Eastern's half-filled planes are testimony to the impact the strike is having — especially the IAM's picket lines, which are up every day at airports around the country.

At the same time, competition among the airlines is heating up as the carriers' owners scramble for a bigger share of the industry's falling profits, which threaten to plummet even further in the next economic downturn. In the fourth quarter of 1989, airline stocks were at the bottom of the *Wall Street Journal's* list of 10 "worst performing stocks" for the period. Eastern, which is expected to suffer the largest-ever losses in the airline industry for 1989, did nothing to help brighten the picture for Lorenzo and the other airline owners.

Weakness of 'reorganization' plan

After Eastern was struck last March 4 by 8,500 ramp workers, cleaners, stock clerks, mechanics, and other IAM members, its operations were largely grounded. The company filed for bankruptcy March 9 and soon embarked on a course aimed at breaking the strike by restarting operations as a smaller, nonunion airline. Income from rebuilding flights — which had numbered 1,040 before the strike — and assets sales of \$1.8 billion

were to finance the "new" Eastern's comeback.

In July the company began a systematic build-up of flights, which reached some 800 in December. Fares were slashed, big promotion campaigns launched, and scabs hired to try to handle flights and ground work.

Meanwhile, however, the Machinists' strike remained firm and won support, including internationally, from working people, especially other unionists. The fighters at Eastern forged deep ties with miners on strike at Pittston coal company and with other striking workers. In addition, Eastern's flight attendants and pilots honored the Machinists' picket lines for eight and a half months, until the leaderships of the pilots' association and flight attendants' union called off their sympathy strike at the end of November.

Despite a campaign by the big-business press and Eastern to say the strike was now over, the Machinists in their big majority gave the opposite response, answering the decision by officials of the Air Line Pilots Association and flight attendants' union with renewed determination to continue fighting. "Our strike is not over by a long shot," said one Philadelphia striker. December 8 was designated by the IAM strikers as "Stand up to Lorenzo" day.

Since March only a few hundred strikers have crossed the picket lines to return to work. And recently strikers' morale has been given a big boost by the mounting exposure

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Coalfield teams find interest, discussion

BY RONI McCANN

The drive to increase the circulation of the *Militant* throughout the U.S. coalfields is gaining momentum as volunteers respond from across the country to be part of sales teams and as results come in from their efforts.

The campaign, to run through the spring, was launched out of three political conferences held by the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, supporters, and friends in late November and early December.

Since then, five coal teams have headed out to mining communities in the eastern and western United States. All sold subscriptions to the *Militant* newspaper, met numerous union activists, and received a friendly response from many miners and their families and friends.

The team members explained the case of frame-up victim Mark Curtis and all teams

Circulation of *Militant* gains momentum among coal miners, supporters.

reported serious interest in the defense effort and the potential to build much more support for Curtis.

Coalfield teams traveled to southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky; southern Indiana, western Kentucky, and southeastern Illinois; southern Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia; Wyoming; and Utah. To date, miners, workers, and others have bought 63 subscriptions and 457 single copies from team members.

Beginning this week, *Militant* volunteers will be heading out for Alabama, Tennessee, western Pennsylvania, southern Ohio, Colorado, and Virginia.

Militant team volunteers report broad enthusiasm and support for the United Mine Workers of America's nine-month strike against Pittston Coal Group.

Met with Pittston miners

The first team to West Virginia and Kentucky sold 23 subscriptions and 209 singles. The team also met with union miners and other supporters of the Pittston strike.

In Stone, Kentucky, team volunteer Louise Halverson talked with UMWA Local 5737 President Glenn Stanley and other union members. The 208 union miners there have been on strike against Pittston's Eastern Coal since June 19, soon after the walkouts by 44,000 UMWA miners in the eastern coalfields.

The 1984-85 strike against A.T. Massey took place just across the mountain from miners in Stone. "Comparing the '89 strike

against Pittston with the '84 Massey strike is the difference between night and day," said Stanley. "We see wide labor support now. It's not just the UMWA but the whole labor movement — and the strike is gaining momentum."

Stanley explained that Pittston had sent local bosses from Kentucky down to Virginia to run the struck mines with longwall mining machinery that requires fewer people. Pittston hasn't tried to run coal in Kentucky, said Stanley.

One Local 5737 member discussed the changes in the thinking of workers since the Massey strike. "We helped out then. We gave \$5 each paycheck and sent hundreds of dollars from the local union, but it wasn't enough."

"Now we've learned we have to get the whole labor movement involved."

Women's auxiliary

The coal team members also visited the new offices of the UMWA 5737 Ladies Auxiliary just a few blocks down from the union hall. The auxiliary was organized three months before the strike and activists want to keep it going afterwards.

Alice Demurray explained that a priority in December was a fund for strikers and their children for Christmas. At a recent auction to buy toys, auxiliary members explained to those present what they were trying to do and people stopped bidding against them. They bought hundreds of dollars worth of toys, with funds donated from strike supporters, for a December party.

One activity of the auxiliary members is setting up roadblocks where they stand at busy intersections and collect money selling



Militant/Roger Annis

Members of UMWA Local 5737 Ladies Auxiliary in Stone, Kentucky. Left to right, front row: Phyllis Booth, team member Louise Halverson. Back row: April Parrigin, Alice Demurray, Joey Ann Church, and Fran Varney.

yellow strike-support ribbons. One day's work fetched \$4,800.

Community support is strong. Member Joey Ann Church explained she canceled an appointment with a doctor who wasn't pro-union. The doctor subsequently sent the strikers a check for \$100 and she rescheduled.

Other activities include going to strike-support rallies, making and selling crafts, yard sales, picket duty, and traveling in support of the strike.

One Pittston striker at the union hall said, "The women's auxiliaries of the UMWA are the backbone of this strike."

Success at mine portals

The *Militant* team traveling through northern West Virginia and southern Pennsylvania sold 63 papers at 10 mine portals, spoke to

students at Indiana University of Pennsylvania and met with several UMWA activists and other unionists. Four subscriptions were sold.

Two laid-off steelworkers, a meat-packer, and a young activist traveled to Indiana, Kentucky, and Illinois selling 27 subscriptions to the *Militant*, 124 single copies, 19 copies of the Pathfinder pamphlet, *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, and one *New International* magazine. Miners bought subscriptions at every portal they visited, for a total of 20. The two western coal region teams sold some 40 papers and five subscriptions each.

All the sales teams were self-financing and the *Militant* encourages its readers and supporters to send in donations to the business office to help put more teams on the road. The business office address is listed below.

Georgia poultry workers win strike

BY LIZ ZIERS

ATLANTA — After a four-week strike that won support and solidarity from other unions, some 530 poultry workers at the Cagle plant in Macon, Georgia, have returned to work victorious.

Members of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU) Local 315, most of whom are Black and female, shut down the plant in November demanding, among other things, a wage increase, safer working conditions, and a pension plan — something owner J. Douglas Cagle vowed he wouldn't give in to "as long as there was breath" in his body.

The strikers won pay raises of 55, 25, and 20 cents per hour over three years; a pension payment of \$100 a month upon retirement; added restroom break periods; and one med-

ically trained person on duty each shift.

Before the strike, workers were only allowed one restroom break per day and injured workers were seen and "treated" by the personnel director.

"The birds are the first priority for Cagle, not the workers," said Dorothy Stanford, a worker with 17 years at the plant who earned \$4.95 an hour before the strike.

Cagle also agreed to a system of job rotation, demanded by the union to prevent recurrence of carpal tunnel syndrome and other injuries caused by rapid, repetitive motion jobs.

Union steward Isach James attributed the Cagle workers' victory to the "whole community conducting themselves in a cohesive way to rally around us." James said the strik-

ers had been invited to speak in front of meetings of the Communications Workers, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, and many other unions. A local union leader who is also a Baptist church minister joined them on the picket line and organized a news conference of clergy in support of the strike.

Cagle bargained only after 75 strikers got on a bus and held a picket at the company headquarters in Atlanta. RWDSU members were joined there by steelworkers and unionized teachers.

The Cagle plant was organized some 20 years ago. Only 15 percent of the 20,000 poultry workers in Georgia are unionized. At one point during the strike state troopers were called out because Cargill Poultry managers in nearby Buena Vista were afraid the strikers would bring their picket line there.

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The *Militant*

Closing news date: January 3, 1990

Editor: DOUG JENNESS
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Published weekly except one week in August and the last week of December by the *Militant* (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Fax 727-0150; Telex, 497-4278; Business Office, (212) 929-3486. Nicaragua Bureau, Apartado 2222, Managua. Telephone 24845.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The *Militant* Business Office, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Canada, Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$30, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$65. Britain, Ireland, Continental Europe, Africa: £22 for one year, £12 for six months, or £6 for three-month renewal. Send check or international money order made out to *Militant Distribution* and send to 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England. Australia, Asia, Pacific: send Australian \$60 to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 153, Glebe, Sydney, NSW 2037, Australia.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant*'s views. These are expressed in editorials.

Lithuania Communist Party declares independence from Moscow, CP leaders plan republic's secession

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Under pressure from rising nationalist ferment, the Communist Party of Lithuania split from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union December 20. Delegates at a Lithuanian party congress voted 855 to 160 to declare their independence from Moscow.

Lithuanian party chief Algirdas Brazauskas declared the CP wanted to create conditions "in the immediate future" that would allow the republic to secede from the Soviet Union. "We are in favor of a sovereign Lithuanian state," he told the congress.

The CP's action follows a December 7 decision by the Lithuanian parliament to strike the republic's constitutional provisions that guarantee the CP's political monopoly, a move which the Soviet parliament explicitly rejected December 12. Lithuania had previously legalized alternative political parties.

Lithuania, with 3.6 million people, occupies a strip of territory in the western part of the Soviet Union, along the Baltic Sea north of Poland. Its neighbors to the north are Latvia, with 2.6 million people, and Estonia, with 1.5 million. The three Soviet republics were forcibly annexed by the Soviet Union after a 1939 pact between the Soviet government led by Joseph Stalin and the Nazi regime in Germany. They are now part of the 15 constituent republics that make up the Soviet Union.

Nationalist movements have emerged and gained momentum in various Soviet republics, especially the three Baltic states, a consequence of the deepening social and economic crisis shaking the Soviet Union as a whole and decades of national oppression by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

On December 28 Latvia became the second republic to eliminate from its constitution a section that makes the Communist Party "the leading and guiding force of Soviet society." Estonia is expected to follow suit this month. The issue has also been raised in the Soviet republic of Armenia.

Mediation rejected

In an attempt to avert the current crisis, the Kremlin offered to set up a body to mediate conflicts that would arise between the Baltic republics and the central government. All three Baltic republics rejected the proposal and Lithuanian representatives repeated a call for negotiations to reestablish the republic's independence.

Moscow was swift to rebuke the Lithuanian CP's action. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev called the break "illegitimate" and "unlawful," threatening to ban nationalist organizations supporting secession from the Soviet Union.

"The present Communist Party and state leadership will not permit the breakup of the federal state," said Gorbachev. He accused the Lithuanian party of "compromises and flirtations" with separatists.

Gorbachev summoned Lithuanian party

officials to the Kremlin for a December 25 emergency session of the Soviet CP's Central Committee. While the Soviet party officials supported Gorbachev's denunciations of the Lithuanian CP's defiance, they were unable to agree on a specific response. Instead, Gorbachev planned to visit Lithuania to address the Lithuanian party's membership there. The trip has now been postponed because of nationalist protests in the Azerbaijani republic.

While "efforts have to be made to prevent a chain reaction" of political rebellion among the Soviet republics, leading party officials are "against the use of force" to combat the secessionist movement in the three Baltic republics, said Vadim Medvedev, a Soviet CP Politburo member.

"It's difficult to imagine, and I would say highly improbable, that while Gorbachev is talking about noninterference in Eastern Europe that he would send tanks to Vilnius," the Lithuanian capital, said Arvydas Juozaitis, a leader of Sajudis, a Lithuanian nationalist organization.

To attempt to forcibly crush the nationalist ferment in the Baltics would be extremely costly for the Gorbachev regime. It would worsen the prospects for improved diplomatic relations and expanded economic ties with the United States and countries in Western Europe, whose governments have never diplomatically accepted the Soviet annexation of the Baltic states.

Under these circumstances the Kremlin has until now taken the course of yielding to many autonomy demands, allowing the Baltic republics to administer their budgets, control their industries and natural resources, and reject laws enacted in Moscow. These concessions have inspired the Baltic peoples to step up their struggle for independence.

The Soviet Congress of People's Deputies, the Soviet parliament, granted a symbolic concession when it voted December 24 to condemn the annexationist portions of the 1939 pact as "legally untenable and invalid from the moment they were signed."

But despite this admission and the Soviet

constitution's formal guarantees of constituent republics' right to secede from the union, there is a "big difference" between the language of the constitution and "political realities," said Medvedev.

Thousands rally in Lithuania

Tens of thousands rallied across Lithuania when the republic's party officials returned from the Moscow Central Committee meeting. In Vilnius 40,000 turned out. Similar outpourings occurred in several other cities.

The Lithuanian CP bosses were jubilant at the response and hoped their disassociation from Moscow would reverse the party's unpopularity and disintegration. "Without question this decision has made the party more popular. It was salvation for the party. It has made it a political force," said an aide to Brazauskas.

In the past year more than 10,000 members have quit the party, which was trounced in legislative elections last March by the Sajudis nationalists. Local and republic-wide elections are scheduled for early this year.

New Rumanian gov't consolidates rule

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Rumania's provisional government, the Council of National Salvation, has begun to consolidate its rule and is attempting to stabilize the country following the December uprising that toppled the tyranny of Nicolae Ceausescu and his family.

The council is composed of some 150 writers, actors, former dissidents, military men, and former officials of Rumania's Stalinist Communist Party who had fallen out with Ceausescu in the later years of his rule. The council is headed by an 11-member executive board, which named Ion Iliescu acting president. Iliescu, a former foreign minister, is known for his support to the *perestroika*- and *glasnost*-type policies of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and has proposed Rumania's foreign policy be directed to a "united Europe."

Protests against Ceausescu's regime in mid-December rapidly became a popular armed revolt when thousands were slaughtered by the tyrant's repressive apparatus. Within days the massive upsurge won support in the army, split the high command of the armed forces, smashed Ceausescu's feared political police, the Securitate, and shattered the hated Stalinist Communist Party, the mechanism of the bureaucratic regime's rule for more than 40 years.

Ceausescu and his wife Elena, who served as the deputy prime minister, were tried before a military tribunal and executed December 25.

A call to civilians to disarm

A December 24 communiqué issued by the new government called on civilians to turn in their arms and appealed to the populace to refrain from acts of revenge, which it said are illegal. At a December 27 news conference, a spokesman at the Foreign Ministry, the headquarters of the new government, ruled out a wholesale purge of Ceausescu supporters in the bureaucracy. "We believe we have to move very carefully," said Cornelius Bogdan, a new cabinet minister.

Since then the council has announced a series of social, political, and economic measures reflecting the widespread outrage against the former regime's totalitarian grip on social and political life. In a January 1 address to the country, Iliescu said the measures were designed to revitalize Rumania's bankrupt economy and to emphasize the "popular and humanist" character of the new regime. The measures include:

- the release of all political prisoners;
- abolishing the political police, which Rumanians now call the "terrorists" (the remaining regular troops of the political police are to be absorbed into the army);
- outlawing the death penalty;
- doing away with restrictions on contact by citizens with foreigners;
- organizing open elections in April and creating provisions for the legalization of political parties, except those judged to be fascist;
- and dropping prohibitions against the

ownership of typewriters meant to prevent dissidents from spreading their ideas.

Iliescu said the government is also studying the desirability of reducing the mandatory workweek from six days to five.

Forced collectivization scrapped

In a country once known as the bread basket of Eastern Europe, Ceausescu's plans wreaked havoc in agriculture, causing serious food shortages. The Council of National Salvation has halted Ceausescu's forced collectivization of agriculture, a policy that called for the razing of some 8,000 villages and the involuntary relocation of small farmers and peasants. Among those threatened by this move were the estimated 2 million ethnic Hungarians, an oppressed minority concentrated mainly in rural areas of Transylvania, a region near the Hungarian border.

Iliescu reported that Ceausescu's claims for food production — grains, corn, sunflowers, and potatoes — had been falsified and inflated by as much as six-fold. A record 60 million-ton grain harvest claimed by Ceausescu was only 17 million tons according to the new government.

The council has said that collective farms will now be allowed to distribute up to 1.2 acres of land to each peasant family for their own use. Some collective farms will be disbanded entirely. Peasants will be allowed to sell their produce on the open market.

In a move to win popular support, the new government immediately lifted food rationing imposed by Ceausescu. Export warehouses filled with foodstuffs rarely seen in markets, such as coffee, pork, chicken, and citrus fruits, were emptied and items were distributed to local stores. These measures were not accompanied by longer-range plans to boost the country's food production.

Other projections by the new government include trying to decentralize the economy through implementing capitalist market mechanisms, said Petre Roman, the new prime minister, in an interview by French television.

Abortion ban abolished

A ban on abortion and birth control for women with less than five children, which was backed up by mandatory gynecological examinations in workplaces, has been lifted. This policy of the previous regime was among the most hated. Hospitals often turned away women who were victims of self-inflicted or botched abortions or treated them under a different guise. The old law penalized doctors who treated them. Ceausescu aimed to force an increase in Rumania's population to 30 million by the year 2000 from the current level of 23 million.

The new government has also suspended Ceausescu's monumental construction projects, including the House of the Republic and the Danube-Bucharest canal, which would have created an ecological disaster in the Danube river delta.

The House of the Republic, one of the most reviled symbols of Ceausescu's reign, involved some 15,000 construction workers. The

palatial structure's floor space is three times larger than the largest park in Bucharest, the capital city of Rumania. Its chandeliers weigh between four and five tons each, and ceilings are etched with gold. Floors, walls, and staircases are made with carved white marble.

Construction accidents claimed the lives of 20 workers. Almost 50,000 people were forced to move and one of the most historic sections of old Bucharest was destroyed to make way for the new government building, also intended to house the Ceausescus.

While Ceausescu carried out these fantastic schemes and his clan lived in regal splendor, harsh belt-tightening measures were imposed on the country to pay off the country's more than \$21 billion in debt and interest payments to banks in capitalist Europe and the United States. Living standards plummeted and basic foodstuffs, fuel, and electricity were severely rationed.

Purges and personality cult

Ceausescu subjected the Communist Party to continual loyalty purges during his 24-year rule, turning it into a personal instrument to dominate the bureaucracy. These purges were

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Kansas City activists protest attack on Pathfinder Bookstore

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — A rock was hurled through the window of the Pathfinder Bookstore here during the night of January 2. A large banner demanding "U.S. out of Panama" was still hanging after the attack.

Just three days earlier, on December 29, a public meeting was held at the bookstore protesting the U.S. invasion of Panama. Speakers included church leaders, solidarity activists, a Vietnam veteran, and others. The meeting took place the day after a successful press conference was held at the offices of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) which condemned the invasion.

On December 31 the Pathfinder Bookstore received a threatening phone call recorded on its answering machine that said in part, "... to suggest that the U.S. invasion of Panama was a racist attack is ludicrous, it's pure demagogic ... you should be shot."

A press conference was held the afternoon following the attack on the bookstore and was attended by Don McClain, a leader of the Kansas City Interfaith Peace Alliance; Erikka Fox, a representative of Planned Parenthood; Katie Neely, an organizer for the Central America Solidarity Coalition; Maureen Flynn-Hart with a statement from St. Mark's and St. Stephen's churches; and Paco Sanchez of the Socialist Workers Party. Statements were also received from the Mayor's Commission on Hate Group Activities and Nelson "Fuzzy" Thompson, president of the Greater Kansas City Chapter of the SCLC.



Hearing transcript in disruption lawsuit reveals nature of slander campaign

Following is the full text of the transcript of a federal court hearing held Nov. 13, 1989, in relation to the 10-year lawsuit brought by Alan Gelfand against the Socialist Workers Party. The case is part of the disruption campaign against the SWP being conducted by the Workers League, a provocative antilabor outfit claiming to be socialist.

The hearing in U.S. District Court in Los Angeles heard a motion by Gelfand urging federal Judge Mariana Pfaelzer to amend her written findings issued on Aug. 15, 1989, in favor of the SWP. Pfaelzer denied the motion. Gelfand has until January 12 to appeal Pfaelzer's rulings.

Gelfand's suit, launched in 1979, charged that the SWP is run by FBI agents and demands that the courts overturn his expulsion from the party and remove the party's elected leadership from office. To bolster his claim that the lawsuit is aimed at government agents, Gelfand named U.S. Justice Department officials as defendants too.

Gelfand, who entered the SWP in 1976, was expelled in 1979 after he filed a legal brief in federal court charging that the party was controlled by FBI agents. The brief was designed to undercut the SWP's lawsuit against decades of FBI spying and disruption, which resulted in a historic ruling against the FBI in 1986.

In her August "Findings of Facts and Conclusions of Law," Pfaelzer stated "there is no evidence" to back up any of Gelfand's accusations, and that his motivation in bringing the lawsuit was "to disrupt the SWP." The findings were based on Pfaelzer's oral rulings at the conclusion of the trial on the case in March 1983.

Subheadings in transcript are by the *Militant*.

* * *

Mr. Norris: Good morning, Your Honor, Donald Norris for the plaintiff and with me today is the plaintiff, Alan Gelfand.

Mr. Epstein: Good morning, Your Honor, David Epstein on behalf of defendant SWP and the individual SWP defendants as well.

Mr. Hertling: Good morning, Your Honor, Richard Hertling from the Civil Division of the Department of Justice appearing on behalf of the federal defendants.

The Court: Now, is there anything further for us to discuss?

Mr. Norris: Yes, Your Honor, just briefly. There are really two parts.

The Court: No. My question — you took my question wrong, Mr. Norris. What I meant was that the record will show that I spoke with you before you came in here this morning — before we all came into the courtroom — and what I am asking you is there anything further the court can do in terms of discussing the case with you in chambers.

Mr. Norris: The answer is no.

The Court: No. Go ahead.

Mr. Norris: Thank you.

The Court: On the motion.

Mr. Norris: Your Honor, there are really

two parts to our motion.

The first is plaintiff objects to those portions of the findings which characterize his conduct as bad faith and his evidence as frivolous and not credible in that respect.

We think the evidence does not support those findings in any respect. We think that the court's failure and refusal to grant the attorneys' fees motion brought by the SWP defendants which required those same findings to be made has an objective significance and that is that the findings cannot be made in a fashion which would stand up.¹ Now, the second part of the motion —

The Court: That is not true.

Mr. Norris: Well, I understand your position.

The Court: That is not true.

The position in the findings is identical to the position the court took when the court announced its decision from the bench at the end of the trial.

Mr. Norris: Right. Six years ago Your Honor basically outlined findings that are substantially the same —

The Court: Identical.

Mr. Norris: — As those that are entered now.

The Court: Yes. I believe that they are — if anything these findings are somewhat kinder to Mr. Gelfand.

Mr. Norris: We don't see them as kind, and they characterize this case as bad faith and frivolous and that leads into the second part of the motion.

Bad mistake made

The Court: Let me say in that regard, Mr. Norris, that I want the record to show that I made what I perceived to be a bad mistake in that case. I did not grant the motion for summary judgment that was brought by the defense. I should have done that. I believed at the time that it was in order to grant it, but I wanted to give the plaintiff every opportunity to put on his case.

Mr. Norris: Your Honor, I believe there were reasons why that motion was not granted. One is perhaps one you just alluded to, you wanted to give plaintiff every opportunity to put on its case, but also extensive evidence was outlined in the opposition to the summary judgment motion, and I think it is only fair to say there was objective significance to that evidence that precluded you granting summary judgment. I don't know of any other way to read what transpired here.

The Court: No. I want you to know on the record that I did not think that that evidence that was produced really raised a true question of fact.

1. Following the conclusion of the 1983 trial, the SWP asked the court to rule that Gelfand and the law firm representing him, Fisher & Moest, had to pay attorneys' fees to the SWP. Judge Pfaelzer never ruled on the motion and the matter was settled out of court in 1989 with Gelfand's attorneys agreeing to pay an undisclosed amount.



Militant/Diane Jacobs

Nov. 13, 1989, hearing before Judge Mariana Pfaelzer. At mike is Donald Norris, attorney for Alan Gelfand, who filed 10-year-old suit charging that Socialist Workers Party is run by FBI agents. In glasses is Justice Department lawyer; at lower right, David Epstein.

contacts with the government after Trotsky's assassination in 1940 and third was the matter of Sylvia Franklin.⁴

What explanation or what inference should be drawn from Mr. Barnes who knew the true facts or got up and testified that he knew Joseph Hansen and in fact met with the GPU and Mr. Barnes had read Mr. O'Brien's letter, was told a different story than that which Mr. Barnes and Mr. Hansen told him about those contacts, and that Mr. Barnes knew based on his own testimony that Mr. Hansen had in fact met with the FBI upon his return from Mexico in 1940.⁵

Now what inference are we supposed to draw from that?

It seems to me the compelling evidence is that Mr. Barnes lied about these matters, and what inference should we draw from that?

If you look at the conduct of Mr. Barnes, what he did was when Mr. Gelfand went out and asked did Mr. Hansen meet with the FBI in 1940, Mr. Barnes said, "Mr. Gelfand is a slanderer," and he knew that was true.

Why would Mr. Barnes do that? Why would he lie?

Why would he call Mr. Gelfand a slanderer and as Your Honor has recognized when you outlined in the findings in March of 1983 there was nothing unreasonable about Mr. Gelfand raising the question in the first instance. Yet why did Mr. Barnes sit there and label Mr. Gelfand a slanderer when in fact he was not slandering and when in fact all these things were true.

This is very powerful evidence.

What explanation is there for Mr. Barnes' conduct? How can that be in the interests of

Continued on next page

2. Apparently Norris is referring to *Healy's Big Lie: The Slander Campaign Against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and the Fourth International*, a pamphlet published in 1976 by the Socialist Workers Party and available from Pathfinder.

The pamphlet answers a slander campaign that leaders of the SWP are FBI and Soviet agents launched in October 1975 by Gerry Healy, then the principal leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain. The Workers League in the United States was in political solidarity with the WRP.

The WRP-WL's smear job initially singled out Hansen, a longtime leader of the SWP, and then extended it to include George Novack, another veteran SWP leader. Subsequently, it was broadened to include younger leaders of the SWP, including National Secretary Jack Barnes. Hansen died in January 1979.

The two principal articles by Hansen in the pamphlet offer a detailed rebuttal of the frameup accusations.

In 1985 the WRP shattered, splitting into many pieces. A big component of the leadership, not including Healy, publicly repudiated the agent-baiting campaign and urged the Workers League to settle the Gelfand lawsuit out of court. The supporters of Healy dropped the agent-baiting campaign without publicly repudiating it. Healy died Dec. 14, 1989.

One splinter, however, formed the International Communist Party and continues to support the Workers League's provocative operation.

3. Joseph Hansen was one of Leon Trotsky's secretaries in Mexico City at the time the exiled Russian revolutionary leader was assassinated in August 1940 by an agent of Joseph Stalin. In *Healy's Big Lie* Hansen answers the charges about contacts with the Soviet secret police and the FBI. One of the central slanders leveled against Hansen was to implicate him in Trotsky's murder.

4. Sylvia Caldwell, as she was known in the SWP, managed the national office of the SWP in the 1940s and helped then National Secretary James P. Cannon in a secretarial capacity. When rumors circulated that she was a GPU (Soviet secret police) agent, a party commission in 1950 investigated and determined the rumors were unfounded. The Workers League revived these rumors as part of their smear campaign.

5. V.T. O'Brien was a secretary-guard from the United States in the Trotsky household in Mexico. In *Healy's Big Lie* Hansen quotes from a letter O'Brien wrote to him on June 8, 1976.

Read about —

The origins of an antilabor disruption operation

Healy's Big Lie:

The Slander Campaign Against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and the Fourth International

This pamphlet details the origins of the Workers League slander campaign against the Socialist Workers Party. It includes material written by Joseph Hansen, who was a longtime leader of the SWP and one of the principal targets of this antilabor disruption, refuting the trumped-up charges that the party is controlled by FBI agents.

87 pp., 8 1/2 x 11 format, \$4.00

Available at Pathfinder bookstores listed in directory on page 12, or order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$1 for postage.

Seattle meeting boosts Mark Curtis defense effort

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year prison term in the state penitentiary in Anamosa on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for

premier showing of the video *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*. The video was produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle. The December 16 meeting was held at the American Postal Workers Union hall.

"They think they are going to break Mark. They haven't," said Dube. "He's still a fighter. And he's

to the labor movement. Labor leaders and labor organizers have long been in danger of losing life or freedom," wrote Ford. "What is different about the Mark Curtis case is the attempt to divide labor from its natural allies in the women's movement and in the civil rights movement. By accusing Mark Curtis of attacking and raping an Afro-American woman, they have calculated to strip Mark of support."

"We will have none of it! We see through it!" Ford concluded. "We will continue to tell the truth. We will continue to fight for the release of Mark Curtis."

Curtis called the *Militant* December 22 to report a small victory. Anamosa prison authorities would not allow Curtis to see the video produced by Castle. After he filed an appeal, authorities backed down and granted permission, Curtis said.

If you would like to get a copy of

the video, contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

literature with each other.

Prison authorities have denied Curtis and other prisoners non-English materials and letters claiming they are a "security" problem. The real aim is to isolate and demoralize prisoners by cutting off their contact with the outside world.

You can help in this fight by sending a protest message of your own or from your organization to: John A. Thalacker, Warden, Iowa State Men's Reformatory, Anamosa, Iowa 52205.

Copies should be sent to: Attorney General Thomas J. Miller, Hoover State Office Building, Des Moines, Iowa 50319; Paul Grossheim, Director, Department of Corrections, Capitol Annex, 523 E. 12th St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309; and the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Matt Herreshoff from Seattle contributed to this week's column.

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

Curtis. For more information about the case or how you can help, write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311; telephone (515) 246-1695.

If you have news or reports on activities in support of Mark Curtis from your city or country, please send them to the *Militant*.

Fred Dube, a longtime member of the African National Congress of South Africa, spoke at the Seattle

going to come out of prison a stronger fighter."

Shirley McCullough, the Seattle president of the APWU, opened the meeting. Ricardo Hildago, president of the Committee to Defend Immigrant Rights, also spoke.

Messages were sent to the meeting by Tomás Villanueva, president of the United Farm Workers of Washington State, and Nate Ford, secretary-treasurer of the Puget Sound Metal Trades Council.

"The Mark Curtis case is not new

to the labor movement. Labor leaders and labor organizers have long been in danger of losing life or freedom," wrote Ford. "What is different about the Mark Curtis case is the attempt to divide labor from its natural allies in the women's movement and in the civil rights movement. By accusing Mark Curtis of attacking and raping an Afro-American woman, they have calculated to strip Mark of support."

"We will have none of it! We see through it!" Ford concluded. "We will continue to tell the truth. We will continue to fight for the release of Mark Curtis."

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If you would like to get a copy of

Transcript of hearing in Gelfand disruption suit

Continued from previous page
the SWP as a party to obfuscate what happened here and to lie about what happened?

These are very fundamental issues of party security.

It had to do with Trotsky's assassination and it had to do with penetration of the party by their greatest enemies, which is the Soviet secret police and the FBI and other intelligence agencies of the United States government.

Plaintiff has sat here and said repeatedly, "the inference I draw," and it shows he was in good faith all along is that Mr. Barnes engaged in that conduct because he, too, is an agent of the United States government.

Why did he do what he did? He never explained it.

No one ever gave an explanation for why that is in the interests of the party.

Seigle testimony

It seems to me at that point since these are such fundamental issues and I know Larry Seigle got up on the stand at trial and said, "I don't care about that," and I understand the trier of fact was crediting Mr. Seigle when he says that.⁶ Frankly, it strikes the plaintiff as pretty hard to believe that no one would care about these issues of penetration, about the details of them and about whether they happened.

Let's pass Mr. Seigle for a moment and move back to Mr. Barnes. What explanation is there in the record for Mr. Barnes' conduct slandering Mr. Gelfand on the basis for saying that Mr. Gelfand is a slanderer.

It seems to the plaintiff as compelling evidence that Mr. Barnes has something to hide when we get the true story from the party and Mr. Gelfand for calling Mr. Gelfand a slanderer.

Why did he do that?

The only compelling inference as far as plaintiff is concerned is that he was covering his connections — Mr. Hansen's connection to the United States government.

What other plausible explanation is there for that conduct?

We have repeatedly asked in the fees motion briefing and now in this motion for an explanation of Mr. Barnes' conduct that would make sense in terms of being a benefit of the party. It has never been forthcoming, and I think this is the critical flaw in the findings of the court on this. There is really no explanation as to why the court characterizes Mr. Gelfand's questions as bad faith inquiries.

Again I go back to the transcript of March 21, 1983, when the court initially outlined the court's findings and again at that point the court said, "I don't see anything unreasonable about his raising the question in the first instance and looking into it. There is certainly not anything unreasonable about that. It is what took place afterward that was the problem."

Presumably what you were referring to there was after Larry Seigle in April of 1978



Militant/Della Rossa
David Epstein, Socialist Workers Party attorney.

sent Mr. Gelfand a letter saying, "Don't pursue this anymore. The party has decided on the merits of these issues, and if you proceed further you will be subject to discipline."⁷

Well, that is fine, and subsequently Mr. Gelfand filed the amicus brief which I understand the court's findings to say that was a substantial basis for its finding for the party. That really begs the issue. The issue really is why did Mr. Barnes and Mr. Seigle act the way they did prior and up to the time that they sent Mr. Gelfand a letter in April 1978.

There has never been an explanation for that conduct that is in any way credible, and until such an explanation is forthcoming I think that Mr. Gelfand's case must be characterized as not only substantial but compelling.

ling, and if that is not disproved, then clearly all the other findings about his bad faith and the frivolous nature of his case also cannot stand, and at minimum we would ask that those particular findings be deleted from the findings if the court is not willing to amend the findings in their entirety.

The Court: Please, either side, either the government or you.

Mr. Epstein: Only just a few brief words, Your Honor.

First of all, I am very appreciative of the court's efforts this morning to hear the parties.

The Court: Well, I thought ultimately it would be disposed of but there is more to this case than just the lawsuit it seems to me. It has always seemed that way, and I am very concerned about the fact that you haven't been able to in the time you have had to dispose of it, but if you haven't we now must go ahead and let it go to the appellate court and be aired there.

Mr. Epstein: Unfortunately I think that is the case. I think that the reason is that the court's suggestion as I indicated earlier was one predicated on the assumption that the motivation for this case lies in the law. I don't think that is the predicate for the action.

7. In early 1978 the SWP Political Committee received a series of letters from Gelfand, who at that time was a member of the Los Angeles branch of the SWP. Among other things, Gelfand demanded that Joseph Hansen "be required to give a complete and full accounting of his involvement with the GPU and the FBI."

On behalf of the Political Committee, Seigle responded on April 7, 1978, by explaining the source of these slanders was the WRP-WL campaign and reiterated the SWP's long-standing policy against agent-baiting. Gelfand was warned that any further steps by Gelfand "to circulate slanders against Joe Hansen or any other party member would be a violation of the organizational principles of the Party, and will not be tolerated."

The Court: Well, if you will recall, and I recall and it is not hard for me to recall this, this is all very painful because it cost your client so much money, each time that your side came in and asked, "Please bring this painful and extensive discovery to a conclusion, and don't let them take any more depositions and don't let them file any more papers because this is literally raiding the treasury of the party." I am sure that there wasn't enough money to bring people here all of those times. I let them continue with the discovery. I failed to grant the motion for summary judgment and therefore, more money was spent. I think the case is groundless. I think it has always been groundless, and I do think that a lot of what went on was harassment. I believe that.

Mr. Epstein: That is our position.

The Court: And I think I have every reason to believe it.

Mr. Epstein: We think that the evidence is clear that the motivations here were other than what appeared on the papers.

Court misused

The motivations tended to eclipse the harm on the political party. Certainly the Constitution reflects certain attitudes we have toward the necessity of preserving political parties, not permitting the courts to be misused in the manner in which this court unfortunately has been. We would submit it on the papers that are before the court.

The Court: The government.

Mr. Hertling: Your Honor, I would rest on the government's papers. All I have to say is the court heard all the evidence six and a half years ago, rendered a decision within a couple weeks of the trial and these findings merely confirm the decision reached immediately after trial, and we see no reason to vacate them or alter or amend them in any way.

The Court: All right. Then the motion is denied.

Marcoses liable in killing of U.S. Filipinos

BY LAURIE BURKE AND JEFF FORD

SEATTLE — It took a federal court jury only four and a half hours to decide that the late Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos and his wife Imelda had participated in a 1981 conspiracy to murder Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, both prominent opponents of the U.S.-backed Marcos regime. The verdict in the civil suit brought by survivors of the slain union activists carries damage awards of more than \$15 million.

A December 15 meeting to hear a report on the trial turned into a rousing victory celebration in response to the decision earlier that day. The legal team, family members, and leaders of the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes (CJDV) participated.

"We knew from day one who stood to gain from the murders of Gene and Silme," Mike Withey, lead counsel in the suit, said. "We knew it led to the doorstep of Ferdinand and

Imelda Marcos. This drove the committee for eight and a half years."

Domingo and Viernes were officials of Cannery Workers Union Local 37, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. One month before they were killed, they had successfully introduced a resolution at an ILWU convention condemning the repression of trade unions in the Philippines and calling for an investigative team to visit the country.

"The political movement against the Marcos regime pushed forward the investigation," Withey explained. "People fought to bring the Marcoses to trial, overcoming the obstacles presented by the FBI and the U.S. government in their complicity with the Marcos regime."

During the original hearing in 1982, Marcos was granted immunity as head of a "friendly state." But in 1987 he was reinstated as a defendant.

The FBI and CIA were also dismissed from

the suit when the U.S. Justice Department objected.

"This victory is a tribute to victims, all the victims the Marcos regime tried to silence," said Cindy Domingo, sister of Silme Domingo and national coordinator of the CJDV.

"The struggle is not over," she explained. The committee is awaiting the verdict in the cases of two other defendants — Tony Baruso, former president of Local 37, and Dr. Leonilo Malabed, a crony of Marcos who operated a slush fund for the dictator.

An appeal of the December 15 verdict is also expected. Many lawsuits are pending against the Marcos estate, but this is the first one in which a judgment has been made, said Withey.

The meeting was also addressed by Domingo's widow, Terry Mast; Luis Peralta, U.S. representative of Radio Venceremos in El Salvador; Barbara Mendoza of Chileans for Democracy; and others.

6. Larry Seigle is one of the SWP leaders specifically named as a defendant in Gelfand's suit. Seigle testified at the 1983 trial on the case.

Holiday appeals bring solidarity to Machinists

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists members struck Eastern Airlines March 4 in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

Backed by flight attendants and pilots, the walkout crippled Eastern, grounding a big majority of its 1,040 prestrike daily flights.

Since July Eastern has been trying to restart operations. By De-

aged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

During the recent holidays, Eastern strike supporters in a number of cities made efforts to increase the strike's visibility at airports and to organize food and toy drives, parties, and other solidarity activities for strikers at a time when the need was especially deeply felt.

In Atlanta members of IAM Local 2665, who work at Northwest Airlines' maintenance hangar there, had been organizing a food drive for the Eastern strikers since before Thanksgiving. Paper bags with flyers explaining the drive were distributed to mechanics, cleaners, and machinists. Management gave the union permission to have a collection box in the lobby of the building. At least once a week a truckload of food was delivered to the Eastern strikers' union hall.

In December the food collection continued and Local 2665 members began a drive to collect toys and clothes for strikers' children. Leaflets about the drive went up all over the hangar. Many of the workers at Northwest are former Eastern strikers and remain strong partisans of the fight against Frank Lorenzo, the head of Eastern.

Collection boxes were filled with

donations — everything from stuffed animals to a tricycle, reports IAM Local 2665 member Ellen Berman. The storage area was overflowing with contributions. The Northwest local also voted to donate \$1,000 to buy additional toys.

The week before Christmas, members of the Women's Auxiliary from striking Eastern IAM Local 1690 met at Local 2665's hall to sort through the toys. Armed with a list of strikers' children, they then went shopping to spend the \$1,000. "They held a Christmas party, complete with Santa Claus, and a good time was had by all," Berman notes.

On December 17 a toy distribution was organized by strike supporters at La Guardia Airport in New York for children of IAM Local 1018 members. The next day several hundred strikers and supporters from many unions crowded into the union hall for a Christmas party.

Local 1018 also organized distribution of a special holiday appeal flyer, red ribbons, and "Stop Lorenzo" buttons from their strike table inside the terminal. Strike activists report getting a friendly response from many travelers, especially other unionists.

Several thousand dollars was contributed to IAM Local 1776 in Philadelphia from the city AFL-

CIO and other unions in the city, along with donations of toys and food. A Christmas party drew many strikers and their families. The Eastern strikers donated some of the food and toys they had received to a Teamsters' local on strike in the city and to the local hospital for children with cancer.

Mass picketing was held at San Francisco International Airport December 22.

Strikers in Pittsburgh organized picket lines for extended hours during the holidays, with the aid of supporters from other unions. A neighborhood restaurant also hosted a Christmas party for the strikers and their families.

In Boston the Massachusetts AFL-CIO and workers at Delta Airlines and USAir organized a collection of toys for strikers' children. A special large food-bank distribution was organized through the North Shore Labor Council food bank, along with \$25 gift certificates for groceries for strikers.

Strikers in Newark, New Jersey, and their families filled the union hall there for IAM Local 1445's Christmas party.

At Washington, D.C.'s National Airport, toys were donated and distributed to strikers' children, and a special holiday leaflet explaining the

strike was distributed inside the airport terminal. Striking Eastern IAM Local 796 sent a donation to the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union at the Avtex rayon plant in Front Royal, Virginia, which recently was shut down. IAM members working for United Airlines at Dulles Airport near Washington held a raffle that raised \$1,900 for Eastern strikers in D.C. and Pittsburgh.

IAM members at Rolls-Royce (Canada) Limited recently forced management to reaffirm that the company would not try to make Machinists union members there perform work on Eastern equipment. Rolls-Royce had tried to get IAM members to go along with working on RB211 engines for Eastern's planes, but union members refused.

Striking Eastern IAM members Susan Anmuth from New York, Josefina Otero from Philadelphia, Maggie Pucci from Boston, and Nancy Brown and Susie Winsten from Alexandria, Virginia, contributed to this column, along with Nick Gruenberg from Newark, Joel Britton from Los Angeles, and Michael Pennock from Pittsburgh.

SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

ember it was scheduling roughly 800 daily flights. On November 22, the Air Line Pilots Association ended its support for the strike. The Transport Workers Union, which represented striking Eastern flight attendants, followed suit the next day.

The Eastern workers' fight has won broad support from working people in the United States and Canada. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encour-

aged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

Continued from front page
of how weak Lorenzo's reorganization plan really is.

- In late October a government arbitrator awarded Eastern pilots between \$60 million and \$100 million in back pay, stemming from a claim of several years ago.

- In early November Texas Air Corp. announced that Eastern lost \$185.2 million in the third quarter, bringing losses for the year to an estimated \$820 million — \$2.25 million per day.

- A projected \$200 million shortfall in its revenue projections forced Eastern in November to request a 60-day extension of its latest deadline for filing its reorganization plan with the bankruptcy court. The court had already granted several earlier extensions.

- On December 9 the *New York Times* reported that a federal grand jury in Brooklyn

was weighing whether to file criminal charges against Eastern because of major safety violations carried out by the airline at Kennedy International Airport in New York. The violations, unearthed during a Federal Aviation Administration investigation, included having supervisors sign off repair and maintenance work that was never done.

- Despite estimates by Eastern that it would show a profit of \$621 million from 1990 to 1993, a report ordered by the creditors' committee — made up of those to whom Eastern owes money — found that the airline would lose \$521 million during the same period, making it necessary for Eastern to borrow \$1.2 billion more. The airline is already at least \$2 billion in debt, which weighs heavily on its profit projections.

- Eastern announced December 18 that it would no longer have a hub in Miami, moving its center instead to Atlanta. In 1988 Eastern carried 45 percent of the passengers at Miami International Airport. Over the next few months the airline will have no more than 24 daily flights to Miami, down from 78, said Eastern President Philip Bakes.

- The same day Eastern requested a \$75 million advance from the \$560 million held in escrow funds to pay for fourth quarter operations. The escrow funds are from previous assets sales, including the Trump Shuttle.

- On December 19 IAM International President George Kourpias announced that Eastern's planes were only about 48 percent full, a figure confirmed by Eastern spokeswoman Robin Matell, who said, "50 percent is in the ballpark." Most airlines require a passenger load of 60 to 65 percent to break even.

That same day American Airlines announced that it was buying Eastern's Latin American routes and other assets for \$471 million. The deal — which Eastern's creditors forced Lorenzo to go through with after it stalled several months ago — includes routes from Miami to 20 cities in 15 Central and South American countries; other international routes; landing slots at airports in New York, Chicago, and Washington, D.C.; settlement of a lawsuit between American Airlines and Continental Airlines, which is also owned by Texas Air; and more. The move was part of a major expansion by American, now the largest U.S. airline.

An internal memo circulated earlier in the month and obtained by the *Miami Herald* suggested that sale of the Latin American routes could hasten the merger of Eastern and Continental into one airline. Strikers have long pointed to Eastern's use of Continental assets to meet its strike-breaking projections, noting that Lorenzo already acts as if the two airlines were a single carrier. This includes using Continental planes and crews to meet Eastern's flight schedules.

Eastern's long-held Latin American routes had made up about 10 percent of the airline's capacity and had been among its most profitable assets.

The sale will take months to realize and must have the approval of the U.S. Justice Department and Department of Transportation, as well as the bankruptcy court. IAM officials and Pan American Airlines have both announced they will fight approval of the sale.

- Eastern will lose its new terminal in San Juan, Puerto Rico. The Ports Authority of

Puerto Rico will take control of the three-year-old terminal — and of the \$4.8 million annual costs.

- On December 22 Eastern announced it was cutting daily flights from 830 to 803, even before the sale to American goes through. Miami flights will drop from 78 to 51 a day by January 31. Nonstop flights to Boston, Philadelphia, Tampa, and Orlando, Florida, and various Caribbean cities will be eliminated. Lorenzo now says his goal is a company two-thirds the size of the prestrike Eastern.

- Eastern was ordered by the federal government to continue health insurance benefits for strikers and laid-off employees who are willing to pay for ongoing coverage.

Layoffs, pay cuts

On December 28 — the 300th day of the strike — Eastern announced it was laying off 600 employees and instituting wage cuts of 10 and 20 percent for half its work force, along with other cuts in medical and retirement benefits. Lorenzo is also proposing wage cuts for pilots and flight attendants hired before the strike of 20 percent and 15 percent respectively.

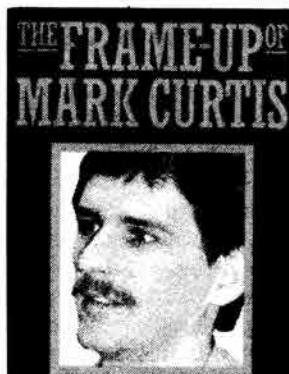
The layoffs and cuts are aimed at saving Eastern \$100 million a year. These "savings" come on top of an estimated \$180 million the airline has already saved by paying newly hired scab pilots \$27,500 instead of \$72,000; ramp workers \$5 an hour instead of \$15; and flight attendants \$1,000 a month instead of \$2,400.

- Eastern announced yet another fare reduction January 2. The company's attempts to fill its half-empty planes come at a time

Continued on Page 12

from PATHFINDER —
The Frame-up of Mark Curtis A Packinghouse Worker's Fight for Justice
by Margaret Jayko

This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp., \$2.50.



A packinghouse worker's fight for justice

Available at Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$75 for postage and handling.)

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

DETROIT — Some 300 demonstrators picketed and chanted at a December 18 rally at Detroit Metropolitan Airport to support the Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines. Members and officials from a dozen unions joined the protest. The 37 Eastern strikers in Detroit, who are members of International Association of Machinists Local 141, which also represents workers at Northwest and other airlines, built the rally through speaking engagements, plant-gate collections, and other solidarity work.

One reason spirits at the picket line were high was the recent court victory won by the IAM against Wayne County's restrictive picketing and leafleting rules at the airport, which it owns and operates.

Shortly after the strike began March 4,

Wayne County administrators started harassing the Eastern strikers. Strikers were limited to small picket lines in selected areas and were told they could not leaflet passengers. This interfered with the strikers' ability to reach out for public support and to turn back potential scabs and deliveries to Eastern.

The IAM, with the backing of the AFL-CIO, fought to have the restrictions overturned. Throughout the strike, rallies have been organized at the airport. In addition, a legal challenge to the restrictions was mounted.

In March the IAM won a temporary injunction against some of the restrictions, allowing strikers to picket in certain areas that had been forbidden. Larger numbers of pickets were still prohibited, however.

On Dec. 8, 1989, a federal district court

judge entered a permanent injunction barring the airport from enforcing its picketing and leafleting rules on the grounds that they were unconstitutional.

Pickets in any number can now be anywhere in the airport outside of a secured area. This includes having striking IAM members right at Eastern's ticket counter.

Wayne County fought the decision by using the temporary restraining order of picket activities handed down by federal bankruptcy Judge Burton Lifland, who oversees the bankruptcy proceedings Eastern has been in since March 9. On this basis, county officials tried unsuccessfully to get the December 18 picket line declared illegal. Wayne County is now raising a \$250,000 war chest to try to reverse this victory for the Eastern strikers.

Detroit unionists rally for Eastern strikers

Mural restoration begins following vandals' attack

BY PETER THIERJUNG

NEW YORK — Supporters of the Pathfinder Mural are restoring the six-story artistic landmark in lower Manhattan. A scaffold has been erected and volunteers organized by Sam Manuel, former director of the mural project, are carefully removing paint that was splattered over a third of the mural's surface.

The restoration effort was quickly assembled after the mural was vandalized December 20. Six soda bottles filled with white paint were smashed against the lower portion of the mural. Glass fragments revealed that the bottles were marked with swastikas and the Nazi "SS" insignia.

The portraits of civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., antislavery activists Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth, the Haymarket martyrs, Cuban President Fidel Castro, and a scene about the Chinese revolution were defaced.

The mural, painted by an international team of artists from more than 20 countries, took two years to complete and is located on the side of the building housing Pathfinder Press. Pathfinder publishes the speeches and writings of revolutionaries and communists involved in international working-class and national liberation struggles, from Nelson Mandela of South Africa, to Malcolm X, Ernesto Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Farrell Dobbs and James P. Cannon of the United States, Augusto César Sandino of Nicaragua, Maurice Bishop of Grenada, Karl Marx, and V.I. Lenin.

Removing the splattered paint requires "careful and tedious work to avoid damaging the art underneath," Manuel said. "When we

are finished it will be restored to much of its original shape." The project director reported that the effort could last as long as two weeks depending on the weather.

Media campaign against mural

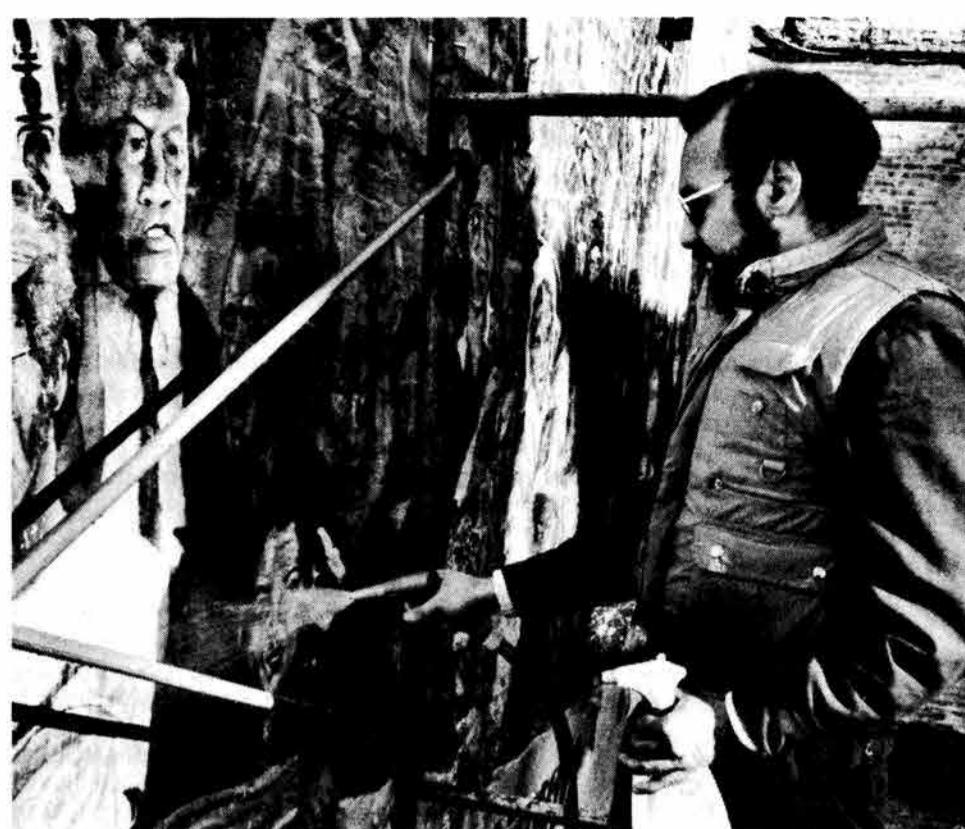
The vandalism occurred after a series of editorials in the *New York Post* and the *New York Daily News* appeared attacking the mural because of the portraits it features.

The *New York Post* explicitly called for the mural to be removed and denounced the \$500 grant for the project received from the New York Council on the Arts. The *Post*'s editorial was provocatively headlined "Off the wall — and that's where it belongs."

Protests from across the United States and from other countries decried the open invitation from the two dailies to vigilante attacks on the artwork. Meetings were held in several cities condemning the media campaign.

A press conference held after the defacement and attended by Pathfinder Mural artists and supporters received coverage in the four large New York dailies, and in the city's Spanish-language daily. Local television and radio stations also carried reports. New York's Mayor David Dinkins responded with a statement denouncing the vandalism as a "desecration" that points to "a lack of respect for the diversity of opinion and creative expression." He committed himself to assisting restoration efforts.

"There has been an unfortunate new twist in the battle over the so-called 'Pathfinder Mural' — an artistic panegyric to various heroes of the world communist movement," the *Post*'s editors wrote December 29. The



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Mural supporter Keith Jones helps remove paint splattered by vandals over a third of the six-story mural. Supporters have established a round-the-clock watch to defend the work of art.

editorial described the defacing of the mural and denied any responsibility for it. "Needless to say, *The Post* issued no such call, 'veiled' or otherwise. We resolutely oppose vigilante violence of any sort — including efforts to deface the Pathfinder Mural," they said.

Calling for a full investigation of the attack to find those who did it, the *Post* said those responsible should be punished to the fullest extent of the law.

Attempting to turn things on their head, the *Post* strongly implied that mural supporters themselves may have been responsible for the vandalism. "The act of vandalism conforms almost precisely to the scenario sketched out by the Pathfinder Mural's de-

fenders, those who hurled the false accusations at this newspaper: editorial criticism was followed by vigilante violence," the *Post* said.

The vandals exhibited a "developed ideological sensibility — the view that the polar opposite of communism is fascism — that's rare among vandals in this city, to say the least," the editors said.

"If it develops that the vandalism was the work of those who wanted to see their prophecy of vigilante violence fulfilled, the punishment should be no less severe," they concluded.

In a January 2 reply to the *Post*'s editorial Meryl Lynn Farber, a coordinator of the New York Pathfinder Mural Committee, welcomed the *Post*'s protest against the vandalism. She called the *Post*'s assertions that the mural's supporters may have been responsible "absurd" and "slanderous," and an attempt by the editors to "avoid responsibility for the consequences" of their earlier editorials.

"The *Post* now provides an alibi for ultrarightists who got a cue from that initial editorial tirade, and who may consider additional attacks," Farber wrote to the editors. She called on the *Post* to run a fourth editorial unconditionally condemning the vandalism and offering to aid the restoration of "this impressive work of public art."

Support to mural

Mural supporters have organized a 24-hour-a-day watch to ward off further attempts to vandalize the mural. They report that there is a constant flow of passersby who have heard about the mural and read about the vandalism. Many of them are outraged at the damage caused to the artwork and hundreds have signed petitions calling on city authorities to apprehend and prosecute the attackers.

Many have also contributed funds to the restoration effort, including a construction worker who gave \$200. Another \$140 in smaller contributions has also been collected.

Pathfinder representatives report that a regional representative of the National Endowment for the Arts called for more information about the mural. Newspapers from as far away as Detroit have also inquired about the vandalism.

The New York Pathfinder Mural Committee, which is organizing the campaign to defend the mural, is asking those who support freedom of speech and artistic expression to join in calling on New York authorities to investigate the vandal attack, apprehend those responsible, and prosecute them to the fullest extent of the law. Messages should be sent to Mayor David Dinkins, City Hall, New York, N.Y. 10007. Please send copies to the New York Pathfinder Mural Committee, c/o Pathfinder Bookstore, 191 7th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011.

Manuel estimates that the costs of repairing the mural might reach \$2,000. "Without our volunteers, it could have cost \$20,000" to get a professional contractor to do the work, Manuel said. Nonetheless, funds are in short supply and are urgently needed to proceed with the restoration, the project director said. Contributions can be sent to the New York Pathfinder Mural Committee at the address above.

Bombings kill two, NAACP targeted

BY SUSAN LaMONT

On December 28 Brenda Wood, a reporter for Atlanta television station WAGA-TV, read a letter on the 6:00 p.m. news program that the station had received two days earlier. In the letter, a group calling itself "Americans for a Competent Federal Judicial System" took credit for a series of bombings and near-bombings that have killed a federal judge in Birmingham, Alabama, and an alderman in Savannah, Georgia, who was an attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The letter threatened further terrorist attacks, including

assassinations of other NAACP members, judges, and attorneys. Assassination of a WAGA-TV employee was also threatened if the letter was not read.

The recent spate of bombings began December 16, when federal Judge Robert Vance was killed unwrapping what he thought was a package that had been sent to his home. The "package" — a powerful pipe bomb — exploded, killing Vance and seriously wounding his wife. Vance was a judge in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit, which covers Alabama, Georgia, and Florida.

Two days later, Robert Robinson died about three and a half hours after a bomb — also mistaken for a package and opened — went off in his office in Savannah. Robinson was one of three Black aldermen in that city and an attorney for the NAACP.

That same day a bomb that had been mailed to the federal court building in Atlanta that houses the 11th circuit court was found and defused.

On December 19 a package bomb sent to the NAACP offices in Jacksonville, Florida, was found. The package had actually been received the previous day, but NAACP President Willye Dennis was too busy to open it. After hearing of the other bombings, she called the FBI and sheriff and the bomb was defused.

More bombings threatened

The letter received by the Atlanta television station said that Vance and Robinson's murders had been carried out as reprisal for the 1988 rape and murder of Julie Love, an Atlanta woman. Love was white. Two Black men, Emmanuel Hammond and William Porter, have been charged in that killing.

"Two more prominent members of the NAACP shall be assassinated," the letter said, "using more sophisticated means, as part of the same reprisal."

"Anytime a black man rapes a white woman in Alabama, Florida, or Georgia in the future, Americans for a Competent Federal Judicial System shall assassinate one federal judge, one attorney, and one officer of the NAACP," the letter continued.

The 11th circuit, the letter said, "has been quick to stress the importance of civil rights for blacks but slow to stress the importance

Louisiana governor to decide whether to free Gary Tyler

The decision on whether to free frame-up victim Gary Tyler is now before Louisiana Gov. Buddy Roemer.

The state's Pardon Board decided December 14 not to recommend freedom for Tyler. Instead, the board has asked Roemer to reduce Tyler's life sentence to 60 years. If Roemer accepts the recommendation, Tyler would be eligible for parole in five years.

Tyler, who was outspoken in his support for Black rights and school desegregation in Destrehan, Louisiana, was framed for the 1974 shooting death of a white student. At the trial the prosecution was only able to present one witness who claimed Tyler pulled the trigger. She later told Tyler's mother that she lied on the witness stand because of threats by the prosecutor.

Tyler, now 31, was initially sentenced to death, but was resentenced to life after the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the state's mandatory death penalty.

Amnesty International and other organizations have campaigned for Tyler's freedom. Petitions to the Pardon Board with more than 12,000 signatures asking for his release showed the continued support and attention Tyler's fight receives.

Roemer's press secretary says the governor is reviewing the case and the Pardon Board's recommendation. Tyler's supporters are urging the governor to free him.

of blacks to demonstrate civil responsibility."

The message went on to say, "Protecting the innocent warrants a higher court priority than granting the blacks' demand for white teachers for their children."

Vance was a prominent liberal figure in the Alabama Democratic Party. Last September he wrote a decision for the appeals court that reversed a lower court ruling ending court-ordered desegregation for schools in Duval County, Florida, where Jacksonville is located. The Jacksonville NAACP — the target of one of the recent bombs — had appealed the lower court ruling.

Two weeks later a three-judge panel of the 11th circuit refused to reverse a lower court decision in a desegregation case brought by the NAACP against the Savannah school system. Although Robinson was not directly involved in that case, he was listed as the attorney of record for the Savannah NAACP.

Vance had also participated in a 1985 decision that resulted in the convictions of Ku Klux Klan members for attacking a 1979 civil rights march in Decatur, Alabama. Two months ago the 11th circuit upheld a jury award of about \$1 million to 49 civil rights marchers who sued the Klan after an attack on a 1987 civil rights demonstration.

The NAACP has been the target of other attacks in recent months. Since last July the organization's national headquarters in Baltimore has been hit twice by gunfire. Last August 23 a teargas bomb exploded in the NAACP's regional offices in Atlanta, injuring more than a dozen people.

At that time a letter was received in Atlanta by the media and at the federal court building that threatened further terrorist attacks. The reason for the attacks, the letter said, was that the 11th circuit court was not meeting its obligations "to protect the innocent."

William Gibson, chairman of the NAACP, said the organization had sent its Southeastern chapters a memorandum advising caution.

Meanwhile, a criminal court judge in Hagerstown, Maryland, John Corderman, was injured December 22 when a pipe bomb exploded in his home.

Federal Bureau of Investigation Director William Sessions says that the bombings are the FBI's "number one priority."

The battle against apartheid in

ANC leader discusses Cuito Cuanavale, Namibia, and defiance upsurge

The following is an interview with Lindiwe Mabuza, chief representative of the African National Congress of South Africa to the United States.

Before her assignment to this country, Mabuza represented the ANC in the Nordic countries for nine years. Presently, she is responsible for the recently established ANC mission to the United States located in Washington, D.C.

The interview by Roni McCann and Sam Manuel was conducted in Washington, D.C., two months ago, at the new office.

Militant. In March 1988 South African forces were defeated at Cuito Cuanavale, a town in southern Angola, by the Angolan army, South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) combatants, and Cuban internationalist volunteers. Do you see that victory as a turning point for southern Africa?

Mabuza. It is, of course, a major landmark in the struggle of the people of southern Africa. It's a landmark in the struggle of the continent of Africa, as well as for all progressives throughout the world.

First of all, how did South Africa get pushed into a corner? How did they get so cornered and pinned down that they had no option but to negotiate their way out of that corner? They had no alternative but to succumb to pressure so intense and mounting that they finally got sense to want to discuss. This is what the people of Namibia, Angola, and South Africa have always wanted — a political resolution of a political problem. The objective of the military struggle was precisely to find a political solution.

The significant military victory occurred in the context of South Africa's mounting economic difficulties. The regime was in that mess because even the limited sanctions im-

week mine workers' strike in 1987. One doesn't have to be an expert in economics to know that if you don't dig gold for three weeks, it's going to put a serious squeeze on the economy. This is part of the internal sanctions our people were imposing on the regime.

Pretoria is part of the world

That combination of both international and internal pressure had a disastrous effect on the economy which is the desired effect of sanctions: to weaken the economy to the extent that government officials and the privileged white population understand they belong to this world. They're not an island unto themselves. They have to come to terms with what the majority of the people in South Africa and the world are demanding. This partially explains their defeat in southern Angola.

Related to this is the fact that for years the South African regime found it difficult to acquire armaments since the passing of the 1977 arms embargo by the United Nations Security Council. Even though some people were still ready to break the embargo and find other ways of supplying armaments to South Africa, the regime wasn't as self-sufficient as it was proclaiming to the world. Its claims were tested at Cuito Cuanavale. Part of the reason for the defeat — and it was a military defeat — was that South Africa could no longer get new spare parts, new engines, so that in terms of the quality and the quantity of war equipment needed she wasn't able to deliver.

Air superiority tested

Concurrent with that, the Angolan pilots had gained a lot of experience. South Africa no longer controlled the skies of southern Africa. That in itself says quite a bit for a people who emerged on independence day

priority. But when the mothers and the fathers and the girlfriends and the aunts began to see that they were no longer so superior on the battlefield — because there were dead bodies coming back home — the antiwar sentiment inside the country gained momentum.

People were openly refusing to be part of the South African war machinery. They said they weren't opposed to all wars and would defend certain just causes even militarily, but there is nothing to defend in apartheid.

Resistance to the draft

They decided to go to jail as conscientious objectors. As it is people are serving six-year terms for that. That example was supposed to act as a deterrent to others but it actually mobilized more people to resist the draft. We had people going overseas to get asylum in other countries, getting out. Even those who served came back with horrible stories of the bankruptcy of serving the South African military. Many young white males formed themselves into the End Conscription Committee which is now among the many popular organizations proscribed early in the year.

The antiwar sentiment was beginning to build, even within the Conservative Party itself.

A combination of all those factors account for the reason why the South Africans decided to go to the conference table.

Cuito Cuanavale was not a picnic. The South African forces were pinned. They were cornered. Some might even regret that they were given breathing space at all.

But the political angle of this is that people engage in armed struggle in order to find political solutions. Even the military conflict is, when it is imposed on you, a quest, ultimately, for a political solution. It's not to show your bravado — it's with reluctance that our people engage in military battle.

The gains of the Angolans are irreversible. Their victory is the type of victory that has written for all time the right of the people of the region to the region. The South African regime, which was seen as a policeman for other people's interests in the region, will now be seen by its sponsors as not such a well-equipped or -qualified policeman.

Militant. What was the impact of the victory inside South Africa, and is it part of the confidence we see in the defiance campaign unfolding in South Africa today?

Mabuza. Every victory has an effect on others, on the progressive movement, on struggle, everywhere in the world. It can be of a political nature, it can be military, it can be in terms of morale, a spiritual effect. That cannot be denied. The people of South Africa gained and that is why we commended the courage and the relentless struggle waged by our comrades in Angola against the racist gendarmerie on the African continent.

On the other hand it really would be incorrect to define what is going on in South Africa as a consequence of that victory, as important as it was, it doesn't explain the whole picture.

Impact of victories and failures

I think we have to go back a little. We can start anywhere, but I would like to start with a failure — the signing of the Nkomati accords* by the governments of Mozambique and South Africa in 1984.

That was a disastrous failure. And although we understand why the Mozambican government entered into such an agreement, it meant that certain routes that we could use as a liberation movement were now constrained.

I recall very clearly how unsettled our people were. Their response was, "We are our own liberators." People were unhappy because they saw the agreement as a threat to the development of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, the military wing of the

ANC]. They took the responsibility up themselves to fill the gap — a gap that wouldn't have been there had Umkhonto not been let down.

Strategy, tactics, planning

Every year on January 8 the ANC president gives his state of the country address, the major presentation of the year. He gives an analysis of what has been achieved, the weaknesses and how to correct them, and presents perspectives for what's coming.

In looking ahead he always gives a special task, a special charge, a special responsibility to be undertaken. Every year there is a specific task and people throughout the year work around that. It's a timetable, it's charge, a designated area of responsibility.

In 1983, under the "Year of United Action," the events in the struggle led to the formation of the United Democratic Front. It was said that all those who are serious about the struggle, in whatever formation and in whatever area of interest, will demonstrate their seriousness and commitment and determination through collective activity, through united action.

Repression unleashed

This is how the struggle built up to 1984-85. But what happened in 1985?

There had been formations of street committees that were embryos of people's power where people learned how to manage their own affairs. With these, the city councils imposed on the people by the apartheid regime were rendered null and void. These committees were effective in replacing apartheid structures.

Of course we know what happened then, the imposition of the first state of emergency in 1986. A state of emergency that by all accounts affected the level of struggle. It affected the way the people operated, naturally, because you've got to regroup under new conditions.

But the mere fact that the regime continued to impose the state of emergency for a second year, a third year, and then a fourth year, meant that the first one was not enough, and the previous ones were never enough to really curb the struggle. They were not enough to stem the tide of resistance by the people.

New methods of struggle

The democratic forces, although they were affected by the states of emergency, learned new methods of struggle — struggle under the most intense police presence.

And right under the noses of the police, COSATU was born [the Congress of South African Trade Unions].

There is strategy, tactics, and planning in the execution of the struggle in South Africa, which is greatly enhanced by the victory in Angola. But the struggle also has a life of its own because the main force are the people of South Africa themselves.

Also, international response to our calls for the imposition of sanctions has never had a more receptive environment than today. I think it's all these factors that account for the spirit of what we see in South Africa today. It's unstoppable.

Militant. In September the apartheid regime was forced to ban the use of the sjambok, or whip, which seems to be a retreat for a government built for the past 40 years on a repressive police state basis. Are we seeing today the disintegration of the apartheid state?

Mabuza. Yes. Absolutely. It is what we have been saying, make apartheid unworkable. It is the oppressed, after all, that must cooperate in their oppression to make the system continue. And they are saying that they are not going to be party to anything that is determined elsewhere. This spells the beginning of the end of the system.

We have residential areas of our people (I'm talking about in the millions), such as in Soweto, where rent has not been paid for over three years. The government is not getting the resources because people are saying, "We work, we live, but we are not going to



Militant/Margrethe Siem
African National Congress Chief Representative to the United States Lindiwe Mabuza. Before arrival in United States, Mabuza represented ANC in Nordic countries. Shown here at October New York welcoming reception.

posed on South Africa were having an effect.

The former governor of the Reserve Bank of South Africa, Gerard de Koch, admitted before he died this year that the South African economy was experiencing such a crisis that only fundamental changes could normalize the situation. If their own governor admits this, we know that the crisis is deeper and worries them enough for action.

By the end of 1988 government surplus had dropped sharply as a consequence of sanctions. It was also due to struggles inside the country, such as consumer boycotts and the strikes by workers, including the three-

in 1975 with a guerrilla army, untrained for conventional warfare, and were immediately pushed into conventional war.

South Africa came in as a conventional military power and it is a power in the region and in Africa. Yet for 14 years it could not defeat the young Angolan military, thanks to the decisive support that the Angolans were receiving from tens of thousands of Cuban internationalist forces. So that is part of the untold tale.

Related to this tale is that South Africa primarily used white soldiers because they were defending their system of white supe-

* In March 1984 the governments of Mozambique and South Africa signed an agreement committing both sides to prevent their territories from being used as a base, thoroughfare, or in any other way by a state, government, foreign military... that "plans or prepares acts of aggression" against the other.

southern Africa

in South Africa freedom fight

“taxes for our own oppression.”

Now, about the question of that little whip — it says something that Pretoria does not report.

I read an article in the *ANC Newsbriefing* before this whip was banned. It was a report about a funeral and the police were there. Someone walked into the meeting wearing a camouflage uniform and the police immediately confronted him. They proceeded to take him away and the masses of people encircled the police and demanded he be released, which he was.

At the same event participants draped the coffins, which were of three ANC military personnel who were being buried, with ANC flags. The police then removed the flags and as they walked out the people took out new flags and draped them over the coffins.

This says that the people have decided to do what they need to do. Whenever you can encircle the police or replace flags in the presence of the police, what you are saying is I dare you to do anything.

It's true that pictures of the police beating people with these whips would not help Pretoria at the Commonwealth of Nations meeting — [British Prime Minister Margaret] Thatcher would have called from London saying “No, [President] de Klerk, it looks too crude, find other ways of doing it, smoother ways of doing it.” It was to save the government's friends a little embarrassment, it's true.

But really it means that the defiance campaign is effective.

State of emergency is their best

The people are defying the best the regime has pulled from its stack of laws — martial law is the best they have. To impose a state of emergency is to use their best in a society like ours. Unless they decide to commit out-and-out genocide — but then where would they be?

“So you see, it's a recognition that it is no longer the same. Noteven for the police. There are policemen, like Gregory Rockman, who admit that the police behave like “wild dogs.”

Another sign of the seriousness of the crisis the regime is the results of the September 6 elections.

F.W. de Klerk ran on an apartheid slate. He wants apartheid. Maybe they'll do a little whitewashing here and there, but basically he's going to continue apartheid.

He continues with the “group rights” saying, “There are so many bantustans, so many different nations, so many different cultures, so many minorities that we are not one country — so we can't talk about one person, one vote.”

We are going to teach him that minorities have rights within a majority decision. Rights — not privileges.

The National Party lost seats in the elections, the Conservative Party gained, and the somewhat new Democratic Party gained, but what they don't tell us, which would be very interesting, is the percentage of those who did not vote.

I'm not talking about Africans, Black people, who don't have the right to vote. I'm talking about whites who did not vote because they don't want to be part of the past.

Militant. *The big-business press, if and when they report on the momentous events in South Africa, credits the apartheid regime for the changes. What do you have to say to that?*

Mabuza. When we see the television and pictures of South Africa they do not say that credit goes to the apartheid regime. It's clear that the initiative and the power is in the hands of the people — not the regime.

When de Klerk speaks to his constituency, he tells the white voters not to worry. He says he will not negotiate himself out of power. He tells his listeners that one person, one vote would be catastrophic in South Africa and that they can be secure with their “group rights.”

That is called comfort. His statements mean that there is not really going to be a democratic decision about who runs the country. He is in for a rude awakening.

In a nonracial democratic South Africa, which will come, the idea that white people will maintain their standard of living at the expense of millions, or that whites will continue to own every inch of property and that millions of Blacks will be forever landless, is not going to happen.

That's what the dying has been about, that's what the imprisonment, the torture, the hangings, and the acceptance of sacrifice has been about.

Militant. *Why are the policies of a nonracial, democratic South Africa and one person, one vote fundamental to the ANC?*

Mabuza. Because they are morally correct. We suffer because of the denial of these two things. We suffer because we do not live in a nonracial society but in a racist society in Africa. I would not accept it in Europe and Black people in Europe struggle against racism — but in Africa? In this day and age? One has to be very foolish to believe he can live with that notion forever. On principle, we fight for a nonracial society because we



Afrapix-Impact Visuals/Anna Ziemienski

Johannesburg, April 1989. Miners gather for National Union of Mineworkers sixth congress.

have been victims of racism and we know that it's wrong.

There is no nation that can claim superior intelligence when it comes to what democracy is. No nation can say it has lived by the precepts of democracy all the way. However, there are certain things we can take for granted when we talk about democracy. One of them is one person, one vote.

We're not coming with a democracy taken from some communist manifesto but rather something which is universally accepted as basic democracy. We're not manufacturing something new, something from the strange recesses of the African mind. And yet they deny us the very concept that they themselves claim to embrace.

Militant. *A historic independence process is unfolding today in Namibia. How are the two struggles related?*

Mabuza. One reason the two are connected is because geographically we are neighbors. Of course, geography doesn't mean we are one country.

Historically Namibia was colonized by the Germans and South Africa was colonized by the Dutch and the British. After World War I ended, the League of Nations awarded Namibia to South Africa on mandate. As we know, South Africa turned that mandate into making Namibia its colony. Namibia has been occupied, dominated by South Africa. The people of Namibia have not had a right to govern themselves or determine anything about their lives.

It's amazing that today the majority of Namibians speak Afrikaans. That is just one indication of who the colonizer was. If you go to the Congo you know who the colonizer was by the French that is spoken there.

Why are our struggles so tied up together? Because of the principles involved and what we are fighting against. We fight against the colonial domination, the dispossession of the people of South Africa and Namibia of their land. We're fighting against this dictatorship which poses in the name of democracy and freedom, and we're fighting against the same racist state. Our oppressor is the same, the origin is Pretoria.

So we have seen ourselves as comrades-in-arms with SWAPO because of the identical nature of our struggle even if we fight on different terrains and from different angles.

Militant. *Can you tell us about your new office here in Washington, D.C.?*

Mabuza. We have wanted to have an ANC office in Washington, D.C., for some time and we actually had an ANC representative here. What we did not have was an ANC mission to the United States exclusively, which is what we are doing now.

We recognize that this is important. We are opening offices in many countries, and we'll

have 44 if all of our plans are implemented. Six will be headed by women — I'm not boasting but merely stating a fact. I'm saying we need more. Six out of 44 is not good because it's not what you see at the demonstrations in South Africa. There you see a preponderance of women. Anyway, that's a subject for another interview.

Present ANC positions

We feel that now it's even more important to have an ANC mission in Washington, D.C., because these are dangerous times. We have de Klerk, someone who seems slick — though he's not slick with us — someone who surfaces from almost nowhere and becomes the “great white hope.” We must blow off this illusion and get down to business. It's very necessary for us to be here to do that.

We think it's very important to have a physical presence here where we can discuss ANC positions with U.S. government officials. We can put forward our views on questions relating to our country and not leave the monopoly to the racist embassy. They have the money to do that and we do not — that's more reason to be here on the spot.

Allies in the struggle

In any country the presence of the ANC also becomes important for nongovernmental organizations. We become a resource center. We become truly what we are, that is, allies in discussing and consulting so that there are no problems of a political nature.

When you have an office you must do certain things in a certain way because we are in the struggle together, not for one-upmanship or to outdo each other or out of competition.

I think that is one thing we would like to see happening here — more and more and more cooperation between the anti-apartheid forces. I believe we can achieve this cooperation, and the work of the ANC office would be lessened with such cooperation.

The presence of the ANC office also means that we need money to run the office.

ANC offices in each country are run by the funding and resources generated in that country. We have many friends in the Scandinavian countries willing to help. We even got some assistance from Sweden for me to be here right now, but I think that Americans should take this on. They should consider it one of their primary responsibilities to raise funds to be able to pay the rent and for us to function.

Our offices in other countries are probably more fortunate since in some we receive assistance from governments and organizations. But I don't think we should have any problem raising the money. It's the organizations here, people all over the country, who must know we are here as your servant in order to make sure you help the people of South Africa better.

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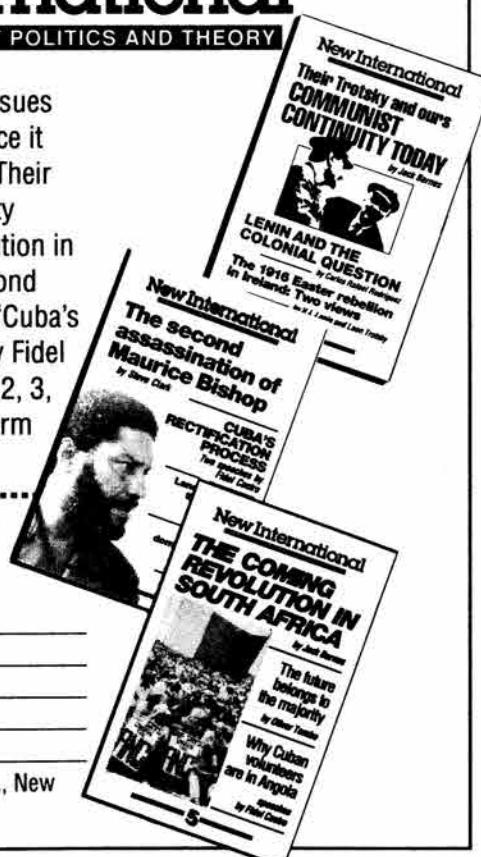
New International

A MAGAZINE OF MARXIST POLITICS AND THEORY

New International is reissuing the six issues of the magazine that have appeared since it was founded in 1983. No. 1 featuring “Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today,” No. 5 with “The Coming Revolution in South Africa,” and No. 6 with “The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop” and “Cuba's Rectification Process: Two Speeches by Fidel Castro” are already available. Numbers 2, 3, and 4 will be reprinted soon. Use the form below to order your copies.

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U.S. troops police the streets of Panama

Continued from front page

the invading forces. But it is known that there are not only many dead but also many people missing.

"About six days ago," Rodríguez said in a January 2 phone interview "the figure used by human rights organizations was of 6,000 dead and injured. But I believe the number today must be higher."

In El Chorrillo, a working-class neighborhood in Panama City where hundreds of buildings were bombed during the initial U.S. attack, bodies are still being found in the rubble.

"Many of these dead are in such a state of decomposition that the bodies are incinerated where they are found, making the count very difficult," said Rodríguez.

Some 13,000 residents of El Chorrillo have been left homeless.

5,000 detained

Washington admitted to holding 5,000 prisoners at the camps of Nuevo Emperador and Cocolí, Antonio Caño, a writer for the Spanish daily *El País*, reported December 29.

The January 1 *New York Times* reported 3,000 of the detainees had been released after pledging their loyalty to the new government. Some 1,340 prisoners were still being held at a detention camp near Rodman Naval Station, at the Pacific terminus of the Panama Canal, according to the report.

In Panama little is known of the fate of the detainees. "Many are being held at an out-

Heavy surveillance in working-class areas where invading troops fear most resistance.

doors concentration camp set up by the U.S. forces in the canal zone," said Rodríguez.

"There is a strict curfew from 11:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m.," Rodríguez pointed out. "All those caught in the streets between those hours are detained."

The streets in Panama City are being patrolled by heavily armed U.S. troops and by joint forces of U.S. soldiers and members of the newly formed Panamanian Public Force. Helicopters and planes constantly fly overhead.

"The gringos patrol the streets as if the country belonged to them," said Rodríguez. There is especially heavy surveillance of the poor working-class neighborhoods where the invading troops fear resistance, he added.

While the trade union organizations are still legal, explained Falcón, many fear that "repression against trade union activists is on its way." Several trade union leaders have been detained, he said.

No date for U.S. withdrawal

Trade unions and religious and human rights organizations in Panama issued a protest demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops, explained Falcón. The signers include the National Workers Federation, Workers Federation of Panama, Panamanian Episcopal Conference, Authentic Federation of Independent Workers, national transport workers' unions, and a number of smaller unions, the union leader said.

New from Pathfinder

Panama The Truth About the U.S. Invasion

- Articles from the *Militant* by Cindy Jaquith and Don Rojas
- Fidel Castro's Dec. 21 speech on the Panama invasion
- Panamanian leader Nils Castro on the U.S. anti-Panama campaign

48 pp., \$2.50. Order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Available January 18. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.

While a tiny portion of U.S. troops have left Panama — 141 returned to the United States January 2 — Washington has not set a timetable for the end of the U.S. occupation of Panama.

"Forget the quick in and out," said Ambler Moss, the U.S. ambassador to Panama from 1978 to 1982.

"The analogous situation is the Dominican Republic," Moss said, referring to the 1965 U.S. military invasion of that Caribbean country. "We were patrolling the streets of Santo Domingo for 17 months.... This is much worse."

Immediately following the invasion, U.S. forces carried out an extensive manhunt for Noriega. The search ended December 25 when Noriega took refuge in the building of the Vatican mission in the capital city. He remained there until he surrendered to the U.S. occupation forces surrounding the mission. U.S. troops had blasted the building with rock music in an effort to harass Noriega.

Washington had demanded the Vatican turn over Noriega to the U.S. forces so he could be brought to trial in the United States on drug charges.

Joaquín Navarro-Valls, the chief Vatican spokesperson in Rome, said December 29 that the United States was an "occupying power" with no right to demand Noriega be handed over to its forces. Vatican representatives have said that Noriega would only be turned over to the Panamanian government, but no such request had been made.

After Noriega entered the Vatican mission, several Panamanian military leaders turned themselves in to the U.S. troops and gave up their efforts at organizing resistance to the U.S. forces.

According to a high-ranking Panamanian official of the Panamanian Defense Forces quoted by the Central American News Agency December 21, almost all of the PDF's military installations in the capital and in most of the military zones had been destroyed by the U.S. Army. "We still have some strongholds," said the officer, "but there is a pathetic disadvantage in number and in firepower."

By the second week after the invasion most resistance had ended.

Since being installed in power, the puppet government headed by Guillermo Endara has been regrouping a police force to replace the deposed 16,000-member Panamanian Defense Forces. The new Panamanian Public Force includes former PDF members who have pledged their loyalty to the puppet regime.

In the meantime, according to a U.S. embassy official quoted in the December 29



Impact Visuals/B. Lynne Barbee

U.S. forces in Panama prior to the invasion. Some 26,000 troops were used in the assault.

Washington Post, the Endara government has "signed authority over to us to arrest civilians" and detain them.

On December 29 U.S. troops forcibly entered and ransacked the home of the Nicaraguan ambassador in Panama City. (See story on page 11). U.S. troops have had both the Cuban and Nicaraguan embassies under military siege since the beginning of the invasion.

U.S. forces entered the offices of the Spanish press agency December 30. The press agency issued "an energetic protest" with the

U.S. military dispatching special operations troops not active since Vietnam.

U.S. authorities. U.S. troops also entered the offices of the Spanish Iberia Airlines and of the Spanish government's Banco Exterior.

"The U.S. troops continue to carry out searches of homes," Rodríguez pointed out. "And while the intensity of the combat has been considerably lower, there are still some sporadic confrontations between U.S. forces and the Panamanian people in some parts of the country." U.S. troops have seized thousands of firearms.

The December 30 *Washington Post* reports that, according to Defense Department officials, the "U.S. military is dispatching hundreds of special operations troops, including many from units that have not been activated

for combat mission since the Vietnam War, to help rebuild the nation's shattered government and spread pro-American propaganda messages throughout the country."

These special "Psychological Operations Groups," which include those that bombarded the Vatican embassy with rock music, were described by a U.S. Army official as "very sophisticated in the psychological aspects of war."

Describing the situation in the streets of Panama City, Falcón and Rodríguez both said the government is making an attempt at "getting things back to normal."

"Some public transportation has resumed services," Rodríguez pointed out. "Some commercial flights have been initiated from the international airport, and some stores have begun to reorganize."

No 'business as usual'

But the resumption of "business as usual" has been very difficult following the massive destruction carried out by the U.S. bombing.

Schools, which were scheduled to resume classes January 2, will not be opened by the government "until further notice," said Rodríguez.

"The invading troops have occupied the university and the schools," Falcón pointed out. "They fear that students will organize against the occupation since students here have always expressed the greatest antiwar sentiments toward the United States."

"Many business and government minis-Continued on next page

Protests against invasion continue

BY SELVA NEBBIA

Two weeks after U.S. troops invaded Panama, protests against the invasion and subsequent U.S. occupation of Panama continue around the world.

Some 300 people marched December 28 through downtown Portland, Oregon, chanting "Panama to El Salvador, U.S. out!" The action, sponsored by the Portland Central America Solidarity Committee, was followed by a speakout. Speakers included John Linder, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and brother of Ben Linder, a U.S. engineer killed in Nicaragua by the contras in 1987; Margaret Thomas, Council for Human Rights in Latin America; and Grace Grantham, Portland Association of Teachers.

In New York City, 250 people marched to the Armed Forces Recruitment Center December 30. The demonstration was sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, the New York Nicaragua Solidarity Network, People's Anti-War Mobilization, and others.

More than 70 people representing some 20 organizations met in New York's Casa de las Américas December 27 to plan a broad march and rally for January 6 in Times Square, demanding "U.S. out of Panama."

The Brooklyn-based Haitian weekly *Haiti Progrès*, in its December 27-January 2 issue, reprinted the statement by the Committee Against Repression in Haiti "strongly condemning the U.S. intervention against Panama." The statement, signed for the committee by Ben Dupuy, editor of *Haiti Progrès*,

was sent to the Organization of American States and to other international organizations.

In Florida, the Peace Coalition Against Intervention in Central America sponsored a picket December 27 at the Palm Beach County Governmental Center in West Palm Beach. Participants carried signs that read: "U.S. out now! — Comply with Panama Canal treaty!". The coalition is also sponsoring a "Town Meeting/Speak Out" on January 10 against the U.S. invasion of Panama.

In Cuernavaca, Mexico, 50 people participated in a demonstration. Among the participants were many U.S. students studying Spanish in the city's language schools. Participants sent a telegram and statement to the White House condemning the U.S. aggression against Panama.

In Stockholm, Sweden, some 250 people gathered December 22 in an emergency demonstration. Representatives of the Social Democratic Party, the Swedish Communist Party, and the Swedish Panamanian Association condemned the invasion and the slanderous disinformation in the Swedish press about Panama.

On December 27 the newly formed Committee Against the U.S. Invasion of Panama held a protest meeting. The meeting heard speeches from a wide array of organizations and individuals, including a representative of the Cuban embassy in Sweden. At the end of the meeting an organizing committee for future actions met and set January 27 as the date for the next action.

"Despite all of the declarations by the United States regarding human rights and the right of people to self-determination," read the statement by the National Popular Assembly (APN) of Haiti, "the invasion of Panama by U.S. troops shows the Haitian people and all the people of the world that this country conducts itself solely as a highway bandit that respects no law."

"The APN energetically denounces this act of brutal aggression and calls upon the Haitian people to solidarize themselves with the people of Panama by protesting at the U.S. embassy in Haiti."

Claridad, a weekly published in San Juan, Puerto Rico, that expresses the views of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, stated in an editorial in the December 22-28 issue, that the U.S. invasion against Panama, which "can only be described as cowardly and criminal, constitutes an open violation of the sovereignty, integrity, and dignity of the Panamanian people and a cause for alarm and concern for all the peoples of America."

The December 30 editorial of the daily *El País*, published in Madrid, Spain, described the invasion as "an act that shows signs of the worst kind of disregard for human life and unheard-of lack of compassion."

Dag Tirsén from Stockholm; Ronette Youmans from Cuernavaca; Janet Post from Portland; Andy Towbin from West Palm Beach; and Jon Hillson from New York contributed to this article.

U.S. steps up threats against Nicaragua

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Washington, having had its way with Panama, is being emboldened in its aggressive acts against Nicaragua.

Imperialist threats and provocations have increased following the overthrow of the Panamanian government by U.S. troops. On December 29 the Nicaraguan ambassador's residence in Panama City was raided by soldiers of the occupation army. And on the nights of December 26, 27, and 28, unidentified warplanes penetrated Nicaraguan airspace. Several of the aircraft reached as far as the vicinity of this capital's international airport before being driven off by antiaircraft gunfire.

The Nicaraguan government has responded by maintaining the mobilization of its armed forces ordered when the U.S. invasion of Panama began. Tank units, antiaircraft batteries, and infantry brigades have been deployed throughout the country, including around the capital.

Military alert in effect

In a statement read repeatedly over the radio December 27, the Ministry of Defense directed army units to continue "taking all measures necessary to allow the rapid and organized movement to complete combat readiness." Members of the reserves and militia units were told to remain on the alert, but to continue their normal civilian activities.

The Defense Ministry statement also instructed all army, reserve, and militia units that in the event of a U.S. invasion, they should, "in close cooperation with the state security organs," carry out plans for the "neutralization" and "execution" of all "the most recalcitrant traitors who openly or covertly have encouraged the Yankee intervention."

The Defense Ministry instructions were immediately attacked by the right-wing opposition. Virgilio Godoy, candidate for vice-president of the U.S.-backed opposition bloc known as the National Opposition Union (UNO), charged that the proclamation was simply "another trick of the Sandinista Front to try to paralyze the 1990 elections."

Godoy added, "Nobody sees even a remote chance of a U.S. invasion of our country." The Sandinista Front, he asserted, "is trying to introduce elements of confusion in the electoral process."

'People's resistance'

In a speech broadcast nationwide December 30, President Daniel Ortega defended the military measures as necessary to counter increased danger of U.S. attacks after the Panama invasion.

"It is important that we deploy our defensive capability," he said, in order to remind the U.S. government "that here all the people are prepared, so that they won't commit the error of intervening." The measures announced by the Ministry of Defense, Ortega added, are "elementary steps aimed at fore-stalling intervention and defending national sovereignty."

The military raid on the Nicaraguan ambassador's residence should be a warning of the seriousness of the situation Nicaragua is facing, he added. "As long as U.S. troops

continue occupying Panamanian territory, the threat remains to the security of all the peoples of Latin America, and the Nicaraguan people in particular."

Deliberate provocations

The military raid on the ambassador's residence is the most serious incident to date in a series of calculated provocations by the U.S. occupation army in Panama. The acts, which violate international law, have been directed primarily against Cuba and Nicaragua.

The embassies of the two countries have been encircled by U.S. soldiers since shortly after the invasion began.

On December 29 American forces detained Lázaro Mora, Cuba's ambassador to Panama, together with Alberto Cabrera, first secretary at the embassy. The two men were seized as they tried to enter the residence of the ambassador.

U.S. officials said that the diplomats were detained because Cabrera was not carrying proper identification. The two were released after being held for an hour.

In New York, Cuba's ambassador to the United Nations, Oscar Oramas Oliva, denounced the detentions as a provocation and a shameful act. "The United States is acting as if Panama were its private estate," Oramas said.

Raid on ambassador's residence

The day after the abduction of the Cubans, U.S. soldiers surrounded the residence of Nicaragua's ambassador in Panama, Antenor Ferrey. The troops ordered the occupants of the building to come out with their hands up and fired automatic weapons into the air.

The ambassador argued for an hour with the commanding officer that the building was a diplomatic residence and therefore protected under international law. Nonetheless, the troops were ordered into the building, which they searched. According to Nicaraguan officials, the U.S. forces seized \$2,000 as well as shoes, clothing, and objects of value.

According to the State Department a number of weapons were also seized. The guns, rifles, grenade launchers, and other weapons were returned to the ambassador after the ransacking of his residence.

In response to the raid, 20 U.S. diplomats were ordered expelled from Nicaragua. The number of administrative and service personnel the American diplomats are authorized to employ was also reduced from 320 to 100.

Government officials here have charged that the raid was a deliberate provocation.

Those who gave the order for the raid, said President Ortega, expected Nicaragua to respond by ordering a similar assault on the American ambassador's residence in Managua, thus providing "a pretext for intervention in our country."

"We were on the brink of war" with the United States, Ortega asserted. Nicaragua's decision to limit its response to the expulsion of some U.S. diplomats was very "restrained," he added.

The day following the violation of the ambassador's residence President Bush called the action a "screw-up." However, he added, "When you find those kinds of weapons caches, even though I think in retrospect we shouldn't have gone in there, it makes

you wonder exactly what our young men are up against. I don't know what they need rocket launchers for in a man's house."

According to the Ministry of Defense, two unidentified planes entered Nicaragua's airspace the evening of December 26. The planes were immediately picked up on radar. However, because Nicaragua has no interceptor aircraft, no countermeasures were taken until the planes approached the international airport in Managua, coming within range of antiaircraft weapons. The sound of the firing was heard over a good part of the city.



WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

UN adopts declaration on apartheid

The conclusion of a special three-day United Nations session on apartheid was marked by a unanimous vote of the UN General Assembly on December 14 in favor of a declaration regarding future negotiations in South Africa.

With the Harare Declaration as a model, delegates debated, discussed, and drew up a resolution for UN approval. The Harare Declaration reflects the views of the African National Congress on the question of negotiations with the Pretoria regime. It has been adopted by the Frontline States, the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, and the Organization of African Unity.

The declaration adopted by the UN calls for a bill of rights guaranteeing "universally recognized human rights" and for "universal, equal suffrage under a nonracial voters' roll, and by secret ballot, in a nonfragmented South Africa."

To create the climate for negotiations the UN document calls on Pretoria to free political prisoners and lift the state of emergency.

The declaration asks the UN secretary-general to report in July 1990 on progress made in South Africa before lifting existing economic sanctions against Pretoria. The governments of Britain and the United States pushed for excluding a call for imposing tougher sanctions now.

Pretoria's Permanent Representative to the UN Jeremy Shearer denounced the declaration on December 15 calling the UN's action a "dangerous precedent."

Anti-apartheid leaders freed in South Africa

In a victory for the struggle against apartheid, five political activists convicted of treason or terrorism were freed and their convictions reversed December 15 in South Africa.

Within hours after the decision by a five-judge panel in the country's highest court, Popo Molefe, general secretary of the United Democratic Front; Patrick Lekota, UDF publicity secretary; Mabokela Moses Chikane, former UDF executive committee member; church activist Madikwe Thomas Manthata; and community activist Gcinumuzi Malindi were freed from Robben Island prison. Six other activists included in the appeal were given suspended sentences.

The 11 anti-apartheid activists were the remaining defendants of 22 Blacks put on trial in 1985 in the Transvaal town of Delmas. Three "Delmas trialists," as they were internationally known, were excused early on and eight were later acquitted.

The political activists were arrested and charged out of a 1984 protest, at the height of mid-1980's resistance to apartheid, in which four Black municipal officials were killed. They were convicted in 1988.

S. African cleric Tutu backs Palestinians

Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa offered support for an independent Palestinian state, drew parallels between the plight of the oppressed majority in South Africa and Palestinians living under Israeli rule, and bore a message of solidarity to struggling Palestinians from the masses fighting against apartheid on his Christmas visit to Jerusalem December 23-26.

Both planes immediately flew out over the Pacific. According to Maj. Gen. Joaquín Cuadra, deputy minister of defense, the aircraft took off either from Honduras or El Salvador.

On December 27 another unidentified warplane entered Nicaraguan airspace from the south, flying over San Juan del Sur, where it was driven off by antiaircraft batteries. The next day, yet another plane entered from Honduras, flying over several cities and then approaching Managua, where it, too, was forced to depart in the face of antiaircraft artillery.

U.S. forces police Panama

Continued from previous page

tries are laying people off," stated Rodríguez. The Ministry of Labor, for example, has laid 100 people off.

"Even those elements of the middle and upper classes who welcomed the U.S. invasion," he explained, "now realize that perhaps the price they have had to pay is too high."

On January 2 President George Bush appointed Deane Hinton as the new U.S. ambassador to Panama. That day, Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and other U.S. government officials went to Panama to meet with representatives of the U.S.-installed regime to discuss economic aid for Panama.

Referring to the visit, a *New York Times* reporter commented on January 3, "Panama faces the task of rebuilding an economy destroyed both by the American invasion and by two years of economic warfare with Washington that included economic and financial sanctions."

As a result of the economic sanctions imposed in 1987, Panama lost millions of dollars. In the last two years the country's Gross National Product declined by 40 percent. Panama's foreign debt stands at nearly \$4 billion. Some \$375 million in Panamanian assets were frozen by the U.S. government.

Canal administration

On January 1 Fernando Manfredo, who had been the deputy administrator of the Panama Canal Commission since 1979, became its acting administrator. Manfredo, a Panamanian, replaced the U.S. administrator Dennis McAuliffe.

Prior to the U.S. invasion, Noriega had nominated Carlos Altamirano Duque to be administrator, but Washington rejected the proposal claiming it did not recognize the Noriega government. The 1979 Panama Canal Treaties stipulate that "beginning Jan. 1, 1990, a Panamanian national shall be employed as the Administrator."

Christmas was a time of mourning for the 625 Palestinians killed by Israeli troops since the uprising in the West Bank began in 1987. Speaking to senior Muslim clergymen and Palestinians, Tutu said, "We bear no animosity to the Jewish people. We call into question the policies of the Israeli government."

Not everyone was pleased by the archbishop's remarks and he was criticized for not meeting with any Israeli officials except church leaders. "There is no way I'm going to say that treating Palestinians the way they do is just," said Tutu. "And if they revile me for that, tough luck."

Responding to an Israeli reporter's question regarding the "violence" of Palestinians who throw stones at soldiers, Tutu said, "Except for David and Goliath, I have not heard that a stone killed a soldier."

Pinochet opponent wins presidency in Chile

The results of the December 14 elections in Chile, the first in 16 years, named Patricio Aylwin president with 55.2 percent of the some 7 million votes cast.

Aylwin, a former senator, was the candidate of a 17-party coalition that included the Christian Democrats and the Communist and Socialist Parties. The Pinochet-backed candidate Hernán Büchi got 29.4 percent of the votes and rightist businessman Francisco Errázuriz received 15.4 percent. Gen. Augusto Pinochet has ruled Chile since 1981 as president and before that as head of the army since 1973 when a military coup ousted and killed Salvador Allende, the last elected president in the country.

Aylwin said that Chile will become a full democracy, that the "armed forces will have to be subordinated to the president," and that human rights violators will be punished "whoever they may be."

Dictator Pinochet said that "if they touch me the rule of law is over."

The elections were a result of the 1988 plebiscite in which the Chilean people cast ballots for or against Pinochet. The dictator lost and elections were scheduled a year later.

Brazil elections name Collor as president

Former journalist and son of a rich land-owning family from the poor northeast state of Alagoas, Fernando Collor de Mello of the National Reconstruction Party won the December 17 presidential election in Brazil.

The election was a run-off between Collor and Workers Party candidate Luis Inácio "Lula" da Silva with Collor winning 52 percent of the vote. The election for president was the first in 29 years. The last president, the first civilian head of state since 1964, José Sarney, was chosen by an electoral college in 1985.

Most-favored by the Brazilian capitalists, Collor campaigned for a "New Brazil" to be achieved by imposing government austerity measures, selling state companies, foreign investment, and reducing the service on Brazil's \$110 million foreign debt.

Da Silva stated the new president "will govern in favor of big business, the armed forces, and the International Monetary Fund."

GEORGIA

Atlanta

The Fight Against Antilabor Disruption. Victory scored against 10-year harassment lawsuit by Alan Gelfand targeting the Socialist Workers Party. Speaker: Liz Ziers, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union Local 511. Sat., Jan 6. Dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: dinner, \$3; program, \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

Celebrate 31st Anniversary of Cuban Revolution. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. Donation \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

In Defense of Socialism. A class series based on recently published book *In Defense of Socialism* by Fidel Castro. Thursdays, Jan. 11 and 18, 6:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

OREGON

Portland

The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis. Video directed by Nick Castle. Speakers: Kirsten Bey, president Portland chapter National Lawyers Guild; Nita Brueggeman, secretary-treasurer Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Pacific Northwest Joint Board; Sherien Jaeger, representative Santiago Ventura Freedom Committee; Gene Lawhorn, member Western Council of Industrial Workers Local 2949; David Linder, father of slain U.S. engineer Ben Linder; Desmond Smit, member African National Congress of South Africa. Sat., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. PCC Cascade Campus, Terrell Hall Rm. 122, 705 N Killingsworth (at Albina). Sponsor: Oregon supporters of Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Behind the Historic Changes in Eastern Europe: The Disintegration of Stalinism. Speaker: Bernie Senter, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Jan. 7, 5 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

U.S. Hands Off El Salvador! Speakers: Barney Oursler, participant First International Sister Union Conference for Peace and Solidarity in El Salvador; Pete Shell, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Joanne Kuniansky, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Jan. 14, 5 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Cuba: The Fight for Socialism. Speaker: Bill Arth, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 6, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

The Freedom Struggle in El Salvador. Panel discussion. Sat., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Fight Against Antilabor Disruption. Victory scored against 10-year harassment lawsuit

U.S. Troops Out of Panama Now!

MINNESOTA

Austin

Speaker: Dean Peoples, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 6, 7:30 p.m. 407½ N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Speaker: Don Rojas, former press secretary to slain Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop. Sat., Jan. 6, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Speaker: Cindy Jaquith, *Militant* correspondent on Panama. Sun., Jan. 7, 6 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (718) 398-6983.

Manhattan

March from Times Sq. to 59th and 6th Ave. Sat., Jan. 6. Assemble 12 noon. Sponsors: ad hoc coalition of antiwar, Central American, Caribbean, and Panamanian organizations.

Panel discussion. Speakers: Cindy Jaquith, *Militant* correspondent on Panama; David Ortiz, Bloque Socialista. Sat., Jan. 6, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 675-6740.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Sun., Jan. 14, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Dona-

tion: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

Speakers: Steve Volk, chairman North American Congress on Latin America; Rev. C. Neal Wilds, United Methodist Church, editor *Newsletter of the Interfaith Committee for Peace Concerns*; Grace Jones, Cleveland-area coordinator TransAfrica and Free South Africa Movement; Greg Coleridge, peace education secretary for Northeast Ohio American Friends Service Committee; Dean Athans, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

OREGON

Portland

Speaker: John Linder, brother of U.S. engineer Ben Linder slain by Nicaraguan contras, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2730 NE Martin Luther King, Jr. (formerly Union). Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

TEXAS

Houston

Speakers: Steven Gittens, member Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada; Prof. Zuberi Mwamba; representatives of Socialist Workers Party and Salvadoran community. Sat., Jan. 6, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Almeda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Speakers: Jim Gotesky, Socialist Workers

Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 656; Ron Kolb, Charleston Coalition in Solidarity with the People of Central America. Sat., Jan. 6, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

BRITAIN

Cardiff

Speakers: representative Communist League; Carlos Zepeda, Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador. Wed., Jan. 10, 7:30 p.m. 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. For more information call 0222-484677.

London

Speakers: Victor Amaya, representative Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Celia Pugh, Communist League. Fri., Jan. 12, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. For more information call 01-928-7947.

Sheffield

Wed., Jan. 10, 7:30 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. For more information call 0742-729469.

CANADA

Montréal

Panel discussion. Sat., Jan. 6, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. For more information call (514) 273-2503.

Lorenzo's Eastern dealt blows

Continued from Page 6

when other airlines have been considering fare hikes to cover skyrocketing fuel costs. Jet fuel has risen to nearly \$1 a gallon from 64 cents in late October. Despite fuel costs, however, Eastern's move is likely to force other airlines to also lower fares, making it unlikely that Eastern will get much advantage from the move.

New opportunities

"We're going into 1990 with some important new opportunities to win support for the strike," said Ernie Mailhot in a January 3 interview. "The mask is being pulled off Lorenzo's reorganization plan, and a lot more people see that the 'new' Eastern is not in good shape. This confirms that the strike — far from being over — is having a big effect and that our goal of defeating Lorenzo is realizable." Mailhot, a leader of IAM Local 1018 at New York's La Guardia Airport, recently became strike coordinator there.

"In January strikers in Miami and other cities are making plans to participate in Martin Luther King Day activities, and they've invited Pittston miners to come down and join them," Mailhot said. "These and other actions in January can help increase the

strike's visibility and take advantage of Lorenzo's weakness.

"In several cities, Machinists are discussing how to step up outreach to the rest of the labor movement," the strike leader continued. "Already strike activists in Miami have lined up 15 speaking engagements in the next few weeks before unions and other groups. We can go back to unions we spoke to earlier and inspire them to get reinvolved in our fight. Regional tours by Eastern strikers are also possible. We should organize to have the Pittston miners be part of all this — whether or not their strike ends — as they have been for months.

"A big aspect of a new outreach effort should be enlisting the aid of the rest of the labor movement in raising a war chest to help us keep fighting and minimize the financial pressures that are bearing down on us," Mailhot stressed.

"In less than two months, on March 4, the strike will be a year old," Mailhot noted. "That should be the occasion for the largest possible actions by the labor movement in support of our strike. After all, our fight to 'Stop Lorenzo' — as our button says — has changed the whole labor movement in this country."

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Baggage, what baggage? — With reduced flight schedules, strike-bound Eastern Airlines was able to claim second place in on-time arrivals. But on baggage complaints



Harry Ring

it ranked last, with double the average. Which helps explain the on-time arrivals. They don't waste too much time loading baggage.

Law 'n order, Israeli style — Since enlightened Israeli military statutes bar the jailing of children under 12, occupation forces are now releasing youthful Palestinian rock-throwers on stiff bail and then seizing property from parents who can't pay it.

With justice for all — Another recent Israeli army decree makes Palestinian homeowners liable for stiff fines if liberation slogans are painted on their property.

No big deal — A National Research Council report announced that cancer risks from low-level X-rays and gamma rays are three to

four times greater than previously said. The chairman of the study group assured, "The average citizen should not view this as a source of great concern."

Think you've heard everything? — Asserting that customers prefer consistency to speed, the post office is developing a plan to shift up to 30 percent of first-class mail deliveries to even slower schedules.

Develop the McHabit — For about \$125 and change, you can provide the youngster with a McDonald play restaurant and plastic McDonald food (that's plastic plastic, not the kind they serve). A

McDonald's uniform can be purchased separately. \$9.92.

Need more Panamas? — With the prospect of the cold war winding down, "the unthinkable is now becoming a real possibility," says Peter Aseritis of the First Boston Bank. Possible massive cuts in defense spending, he says, would hit hardest at "companies that thrive on war."

It's done with computers — IBM will be slicing off some 15,000 jobs but says it will continue its declared policy of no forced layoffs. "We don't do layoffs," an official said. "We try to rehire or deploy, but it is possible to reduce the head

count in the process."

Like, don't overdo it — A member of the Utah legislature is pressing for the state congressional delegation to introduce a modification of the Pledge of Allegiance. He wants it to be "with liberty, justice, and responsible freedom for all."

Free enterprise, and speedy — We reported about the Los Angeles operator who wanted to market the Berlin Wall. He was late. Before Xmas, Hyman Products had what it claims are pieces of the wall on sale in the St. Louis area — oz., \$9.99. One disenchanted reporter said they looked like pieces of "old driveway concrete."

Tentative pact announced in Pittston miners' strike

Continued from front page

Most striking miners are hoping for a contract they can support, but are taking a wait-and-see approach.

Terry Collins, a picket captain in Logan County, West Virginia, explained, "There are a lot of ifs, ands, and buts in the contract. If it's not what we want, we're willing to stay out for another nine months. We didn't stand out here in all this weather, for all this time, to compromise our position now."

Dave Collins, president of Local 1971 in Logan County, cautioned, "There's no sense getting all excited. Just because we reach an agreement, it doesn't mean we're going back to work." The company may shut down mines. But, Collins, added, "If this thing turns out to be what they say it is, we're going to have one hell of a party."

It is expected that miners will receive copies of the proposed contract, hold discussions, and vote in approximately 10 days.

Health benefits a key issue

The main issue in the strike has been Pittston's demand to end its contribution to the nationwide, multi-employer retirement and health fund, which is managed by the union.

This fund is a hard-won gain that allows miners, who are often forced to change employers because of layoffs or mine closings, to earn benefits for the full length of their employment in unionized mines. Pittston wants to set up its own fund.

Pittston also demanded the dropping of its traditional 100 percent medical coverage for working miners and 130,000 retired and disabled miners and dependents of deceased miners. The company offered an 80/20 expense plan, requiring miners to pay the first \$600 in expenses for family coverage before the company would begin to pay 80 percent of costs.

These benefits are crucial to workers in the mining industry where annually there are 55 deaths in the mines, 10,000 to 16,000 injuries, and 4,000 die from lung disease.

Other key issues included:

- Pittston's refusal to give 4,000 laid-off miners job preference at newly opened mines;
- refusal to grant a successorship clause guaranteeing miners won't lose their jobs or union benefits in the event of the sale or transfer of mine ownership;



- the demand for more flexible work schedules, including an end to the eight-hour day and five-day week; imposition of Sunday and holiday work; and the right to schedule daily mandatory overtime;

- the company's demand to subcontract out jobs related to transportation, repair, maintenance, and construction at mine sites.

Didn't predict a fight

Pittston officials initially thought they could win a quick victory over the union, predicting miners would cross their own picket lines and cave in to pressure from the courts, cops, politicians, and media.

Early in the strike the company hired scabs and private security guards, and with the aid of state troopers, restarted their Virginia operations. Mines in Kentucky and West Virginia remained shut down.

But they underestimated the miners' willingness to fight. Peaceful picket lines, sit-ins,

rallies, and caravans were organized to cut Pittston's output.

Fellow UMWA members, other unionists, religious organizations, family members, and entire mining communities rallied behind the strikers.

In June 44,000 union miners in 10 states walked off the job for six weeks in support of the Pittston strikers.

On September 17, some 100 miners occupied Pittston's Moss No. 3 coal preparation plant in Carbo, Virginia. Within hours, more than 5,000 supporters gathered outside. The plant was shut down for 80 hours.

During the strike the miners curtailed coal production to about 30 percent of prestrike levels, and estimates are that Pittston lost more than \$13 million compared to \$17 million in profits during the same period in 1988.

Student and women's auxiliaries were formed to join the picket lines, organize protests when miners were arrested and jailed, and raise money and publicize the issues in the strike.

Nearly 50,000 people visited the union's Camp Solidarity. The camp was set up to house and feed supporters from around the world who flooded into southwest Virginia to see the strike firsthand, extend solidarity, and take the miners' story back home.

Ties were made between the miners and workers on strike against Eastern Airlines and the regional telephone companies.

Despite nearly 3,000 arrests, harassment and injuries from state, federal, and private cops, and fines totaling \$63.5 million against the union, the miners continued to picket and reach out to the labor movement and the public.

Roy Blankenship, a union official and 25-year veteran of the mines in Logan County was shot in the shoulder August 19 while on picket duty. Six scabs were later indicted for the shooting. He explained in an interview in the December 26 *Charleston Gazette* why the miners fought so hard.

"These people [Pittston] don't care about the working class of people. They think a man working in a doghole up to his knees in every kind of mess doesn't deserve any benefits. The people that made the company — the ones that have to go to Man Hospital to be put on lung machines — they've set them out in the cold, they want to take their health benefits," Blankenship said.

Although he may not regain the use of his arm, Blankenship explained he would do it all again. "You've got to stick with what you believe in, and I believe in the union. Pittston and Massey [Coal Co.] are trying to break the union."

New Rumanian government

Continued from Page 3

coupled with an official cult of the Ceausescu family. His wife was referred to as the "mother" of Rumania and he was proclaimed a "genius" in the program adopted by the CP at its last congress in November.

The CP functioned as a massive job trust for its 3.8 million members, one-third of the country's adult population, through which promotions and privileges were gained and preserved. Opponents were pushed aside and loyalists, including some 40 members of his family, were rewarded with high party and government posts, solidifying the tyrant's rule.

Confronted by popular demands for its dissolution, CP officials who have not been detained announced December 30 that a special congress to dissolve the party was being called. The new government announced January 2 that all members of the Ceausescu

Politburo had been detained.

The massive political police apparatus became Ceausescu's personal army and was used ruthlessly in an attempt to crush the rebellion. Numbering between 30,000 and 60,000, the political police was better equipped and paid than the regular army, and was trained in loyalty to Ceausescu. A captain in the political police earned as much as an army general, army Capt. Mihail Lupoiu told the *New York Times*.

A large underground network of tunnels in Bucharest connecting government buildings, CP offices, and Ceausescu's residence was designed to provide this police force with superior mobility in the face of rebellion. The labyrinth accounted for their ability to provide stiff resistance against army units that joined the uprising. The new government reported that pockets of resistance by the political police still exist in these tunnels.

The year 1979 was a bad one for U.S. imperialism.

It opened with Vietnam's victory over the Pol Pot tyranny in Kampuchea and the revolutionary overthrow of the CIA-installed shah of Iran. These two events accelerated the class struggle throughout Southeast Asia.

By midyear the stakes for imperialism in these two parts of the world were added to by the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. The battle to topple the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), culminated in a deepgoing urban insurrection in Managua.

The Nicaraguan revolution has deepened steadily, and the FSLN is preparing the workers and peasants for the showdowns with U.S. imperialism and native capitalists that are on the agenda during the first half of 1980.

And reports from Tehran testify to the growing challenge to imperialism and capitalist stability by the toiling masses of Iran

and the impact of their heroic struggle throughout the surrounding region.

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Jan. 18, 1980

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Jan. 4, 1965

With the U.S. forces in Vietnam suffering a steady erosion of their political and military positions, a significant number of politicians in Washington are finally beginning to identify themselves with the proposal of some form of U.S. withdrawal.

U.S. Sen. Frank Church, for example, now declares his belief that U.S. involvement in Vietnam was a mistake in the first place and that while he doesn't like the idea of the U.S. being forced out, "we must be prepared for that possibility."

Church said he opposed proposals for extending the war to North Vietnam because it is "foolly" to believe that would not involve China. He indicated he was one of a number of Democrats in Congress opposed to spreading the war and critical of present U.S. policy.

U.S. invasion threatens region

The victory of the criminal invasion of Panama has emboldened Washington to broaden its use of military intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Washington has successfully overthrown the Panamanian government, smashed the Panamanian Defense Forces, turned working-class neighborhoods into rubble, and installed a new regime. The largest invasion force mobilized by Washington since the Vietnam War continues to illegally and arrogantly occupy the country.

Reports from Panama indicate that thousands of men, women, and children died or were injured during the massive bombing of working-class neighborhoods by the invading army. Hundreds remain in jail.

Washington illegally captured and detained officials of the government, including Gen. Manuel Noriega, and deported them to the United States to face trumped-up charges.

The occupation of Panama and the imposition of a government servile to U.S. interests represents a big step backwards for the Panamanian people. For decades they have fought — and made progress in pushing back — U.S. domination of their country, U.S. control of the Panama Canal, and direct imperialist interference in the nation's affairs.

But over the past decade the U.S. rulers have kept pressing to make sure they maintain U.S. control of the canal. They don't want to give up the important military, political, and economic benefits control of the canal gives them.

The Panamanian people have not been alone in their struggle. And Washington has been itching to use its military might to crush liberation struggles in other countries of the region over the last decade.

In 1979 the Nicaraguan and Grenadian working people rose up and overthrew U.S.-backed dictators and established their own governments. The past decade has also seen a rise in the struggle by the Salvadoran people against U.S. domination. Military dictatorships have fallen in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and elsewhere.

The U.S. rulers have pushed and probed, seeking any advantage or excuse to launch an operation like the December 20 invasion of Panama.

Their aim is to crush the struggles of working people and fighters for social justice as they fight against worsening social and economic conditions. The imperialists demand working people in the region help pay for the crisis of the capitalist system. They insist that more and more of the wealth produced by workers and peasants in the region go directly into the coffers of the big banks in imperialist countries. This wealth is siphoned off through payment on the more than \$400 billion debt of the region.

The first big use of military force in response to this upsurge was against the people of Grenada in 1983.

The resistance they knew they would find in Nicaragua, Cuba, and El Salvador, combined with widespread opposition to another Vietnam among working people in the

United States and throughout the Americas, stayed the hand of imperialism in other parts of the region.

But on December 20, through a massive propaganda effort and overwhelming use of force and firepower, Washington has again successfully invaded, trampled on the sovereignty, and murdered citizens of another nation.

Washington is seeking to press this victory and use it to intimidate other peoples in the region who stand up to its imperial dictates.

After surrounding and placing under virtual house arrest Cuban and Nicaraguan diplomatic personnel in Panama, two Cuban diplomats were detained and U.S. troops raided the residence of the Nicaraguan ambassador.

Although President Bush called the raid a "screw-up," it was a calculated move seeking to provoke a Nicaraguan response that could be parlayed into a broader confrontation.

Threats against Nicaragua were stepped up, including the penetration of the country's airspace by unidentified aircraft. The U.S.-backed contras increased their terrorist attacks inside Nicaragua. In one ambush two nuns were killed by contra forces.

Washington has also enlisted the other imperialist country in the Western Hemisphere in the effort. The Canadian government immediately supported the invasion of Panama. Canada has also joined the Organization of American States, a move encouraged by the U.S. rulers since the early 1960s.

The North American imperialists will continue these threats and provocations against Cuba and Nicaragua. Under the pretext of fighting drugs, as in Colombia, more U.S. troops will be sent to intervene in Latin America. Direct U.S. involvement in, and direction of, the war against the Salvadoran freedom fighters will grow.

Working people in North America have no interest in going to fight, bomb, and imprison workers and peasants in Latin America and the Caribbean who are struggling against the effects of the capitalist economic crisis.

Organizing to get out the truth about these struggles is an essential task of all who oppose U.S. military intervention abroad.

Continuing picket lines, protests, and speak-outs are needed to counter the increased threats aimed at Cuba, Nicaragua, the people of El Salvador, and elsewhere. Through these efforts we can join with the fighting peoples of the region to demand:

- Release all Panamanian patriots held in detention.
- Release Manuel Noriega and other Panamanian government officials. Allow them to travel and live where they choose.
- Stop the threats against Cuban and Nicaraguan diplomatic personnel in Panama.
- U.S. troops out of Panama now!

Demonology and the U.S. invasion of Panama

BY DOUG JENNESS

When workers go out on strike or get involved in other forms of struggle, we learn pretty fast that television and radio networks and publishers of the daily press are agents of the employers and the government. They repeat the same lies about our demands and the same slanders about our conduct. Both the media and the bosses often bait us as "violent" and accuse us of all sorts of heinous crimes, including trespassing, arson, and sometimes even murder.

This makes us suspicious when we read or hear attacks by the press on workers in struggle in other plants, in other industries, and in other parts of the country.

We should also have the same distrust regarding reports about working people in other countries, because the media

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

networks and the newspapers serve as agents for defending big-business and banking interests abroad too.

A good case in point is the invasion and occupation of Panama by U.S. military forces. A gigantic blow has been dealt to working people in that country and throughout Central America and the Caribbean.

But to read the press one would never know that's what is involved or even that the unions in Panama have denounced the invasion. The media has been echoing the government's line that the main problem in Panama was Gen. Manuel Noriega. For several years now he has been portrayed as a drug-trafficking tyrant — a larger-than-life demon who is responsible for the deaths of hundreds of drug users in the United States. This, according to President Bush and his cheerleaders, gives the U.S. government the right to invade Panama, apprehend Noriega, and cart him off to the United States to be tried and convicted.

This line of argumentation is tailored to get the backing of working people in the United States, who are genuinely concerned about the problems of drug trafficking and violence in their communities. It is aimed at raising hopes that this scourge can be alleviated, at least partially, by getting Noriega out of the way.

But even if everything said about Noriega is true, it wouldn't justify invading another country, trampling on the sovereign rights of its people, razing thousands of homes, killing hundreds of civilians, and imposing a "Made in USA" puppet regime.

Nor will bringing Noriega to trial in Miami end the drug trade or even make a dent in it. This highly profitable business will continue to thrive as long as the capitalist system exists and profits can be made by manufacturing and peddling drugs.

The fact is that Bush and his cohorts don't give a tinker's damn about ending the drug trade. If they sit on their hands in the face of widespread homelessness and unemployment in the United States and the devastating effects of the debt crisis in Third World countries, then why should anyone think they will care about what the consequences of drug trafficking are on the working class, especially in Black and Latino communities.

The feigned concern about drugs and the demonology surrounding Noriega are a ruse to camouflage what's really involved in the invasion and occupation of Panama. That's the sharply intensified drive to use U.S. military power to reverse gains working people have won in Central America and the Caribbean and to firmly establish the practice of policing the region for North American profiteers who have considerable economic interests there.

Panamanians have fought for decades against the abuses and indignities of Washington's domination of their country and of the economically and militarily strategic canal that runs through their territory. In the 1960s these protests reached significant dimensions and led to the rise of the government headed by Gen. Omar Torrijos that based itself in part on this mass ferment.

Economic and social gains were won by working people and treaties were signed with Washington turning administration of the Panama Canal over to Panama by the end of 1999. Tens of thousands of the most oppressed, mostly Black, workers, who had for years been excluded from any role in Panama's social and political life began to win more self-confidence and assume a greater sense of dignity.

After Torrijos was killed in a plane crash in the early 1980s, Noriega took over. He at first attempted to curry favor with Washington, but this came to an end in 1985 when he refused to back the U.S. government's contra war against Nicaragua. He attempted to build points of support in the working class by wrapping himself in the Torrijista mantle.

It's the working class in Panama and the gains it made, especially in self-confidence, that is Washington's target.

Washington's invasion is also a warning to working people throughout the region to not rebel against the conditions imposed on them by imperialist oppression or chart a course independent of North American rule. This underlines the importance of working people in North America speaking out against Washington's invasion and demanding U.S. troops be brought home immediately.

Apprehend, prosecute vigilantes

The recent vigilante attacks on judges, attorneys, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have already resulted in two deaths and several injuries in Alabama and Georgia. The terrorist attacks must be strongly condemned by all democratic-minded people as an outrage and an intolerable attack on all those who take a stand against race discrimination.

Citing the alleged rape of a white woman by Blacks, the right-wing vigilantes falsely claim that their aim is to "protect the innocent." In truth, the bombings and threats are racist assaults committed by a group opposed to the struggle for equality of Blacks, women, Latinos, and others most oppressed under capitalist society.

Included in the threatening message sent to the media by the vigilantes is a sarcastic reference to the continuing battle to desegregate the public school system in the United States, a fight that has won important gains and is under attack today.

School desegregation laws, affirmative action programs, and other hard-won measures that counter existing inequal-

ities, have been dealt some serious blows in recent years by the courts. This reflects the employers' decade-long effort to chip away at the rights working people won through the struggles of the civil rights movement and the women's rights fight.

The series of court rulings undermining affirmative action measures in January, March, and June of last year emboldens the employers to try to further weaken or do away with affirmative action programs. Also emboldened are right-wing vigilante elements, like those behind the recent package bombs and threats.

The chief targets in the latest round of vigilante actions were those involved in the federal judicial system and the NAACP in Alabama, Georgia, and Florida. In this area several desegregation cases and cases against the Ku Klux Klan have recently been won before the 11th circuit appeals court.

The entire labor movement should demand the apprehension and full prosecution of those responsible for deaths, bombings, and threats against the judges and the NAACP.

Protest anti-Semitic attack

The anti-Semitic attack on a Jewish secondary school in a Washington, D.C., suburb December 26 is an assault on the rights of all working people. It should be roundly denounced by labor, civil rights, religious, and all other organizations that defend democratic rights.

The school is located near Silver Spring, Maryland, in a neighborhood where many Orthodox Jews live. The 12-room school, called the Boys Division of the Yeshiva of Greater Washington, is attended by 85 students.

On the fifth night of the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah the building was broken into. Lockers were ransacked, ceiling panels ripped out, books strewn all over, and a bathroom set on fire. The school chapel was sprayed with soda.

The words "Roman Catholics rule" were written across six lockers in the hallway, and "Satan" on a blackboard.

The school had been moved from a nearby location in 1977 after the building was defaced with swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans, and damaged by arson.

In separate incidents in the same neighborhood last summer, swastikas were painted on several neighborhood vehicles, 40 car windows were shot out with an air rifle, and the phrase "All Jews must die" was painted on a sidewalk.

Anti-Semitism, like racism, divides and weakens the unity of working people. The fight against the scourge of anti-Semitism is important to the struggle working people must wage to defend our rights. Such a fight strengthens the ability of the labor movement to wage a struggle against other attacks on our rights and standard of living by the government and employers. Those responsible for these acts should be arrested and convicted.

Workers in Utah coal mine industry fight for union

BY TONY DUTROW
AND DAVE HURST

PRICE, Utah — Dressed in camouflage outfits to show their unity, close to half the work force at a Helper, Utah, coal mine roof bolt factory and their supporters descended on the Carbon County courthouse at the end of November to focus attention on their fight for union recognition.

Inside the courthouse attorneys for the United Mine Workers of America and the National Labor Relations Board were charging the Pittsburgh-based Jennmar Corp. with unfair labor practices. These related to the union certification

UNION TALK

election held at the Helper plant on July 28, 1989. In a prepared statement, UMWA organizer Bob Jennings accused Jennmar of carrying out a "clearly designed program of union-busting and harassment" to keep its employees from forming a union.

The workers decided to unionize the plant to defend themselves against perilous working conditions, an average wage barely topping \$5 an hour, and harassment and unequal treatment by plant management. An accident in which a worker lost three fingers sparked the drive. The company failed to file reports necessary to begin compensation payments to the victim.

In response, 80 percent of the workers in the plant signed UMWA cards. This set the stage for the July 28 vote for or against the union. The workers chose the UMWA to represent them because it maintains the largest union presence in this area of Utah coalfields.

The company retaliated by hiring a union-busting law firm and releasing a barrage of antiunion propaganda,

including threats to close the plant and slash the already inferior wages and benefits. The bosses fired two known union activists the day before the election to try to invalidate their votes. The two-and-a-half day hearing in November before an administrative law judge was held to determine whether those votes would be counted, giving the union a one-vote margin of victory. The decision will take at least two months to come down.

Prounion activists campaigned hard for a yes vote, conquering ground on safety issues and publishing their own newsletter to answer the company's lies about the union. These fights have continued since the election. After a worker was overcome by carbon monoxide fumes and rushed to the hospital, a group of workers shut down production on their machine and forced the company to install adequate ventilation in their shop. A petition demanding fair and equal treatment for all workers was circulated and signed by 85 percent of the work force.

Unionists called 'saboteurs'

In a clear attack on all unionists, management at the Jennmar & Valley Camp Coal Co.'s mine labeled union activists "saboteurs" after some roof bolt plates failed to pass Mine Safety and Health Administration inspection at the mine. The plates actually failed due to poor tensile strength of the steel ordered by Jennmar management. In response, Harry Reddington, president of UMWA Local 6788 at Valley Camp, protested to management, refuting the notion that unionists would wantonly endanger each other's lives.

Pro-UMWA workers at Jennmar attended meetings organized in solidarity with the strikes at Pittston Coal and Eastern Airlines. Messages of support were sent despite company attempts to use the strikes to scare workers away from unionization. Workers at Jennmar are discussing more

ideas for participating in solidarity with these labor battles.

Jennmar management's union-busting efforts have been prominently featured in the local paper, the *Price Sun-Advocate*. This has drawn the attention of unionists and others in the community. Discussions of the organizing drive have been held in many UMWA locals in the Utah coalfields, as well as in a garment shop organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Support to organizing drive

Much support to the union organizing drive was evident during the hearings. Protests were held daily in front of the Carbon County courthouse. The first one, on November 28, was attended by members of the United Steelworkers of America and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union who drove down from Salt Lake City. Cars and trucks passing by every day honked and gave "thumbs up" signs to union supporters. Scores of fact sheets and union newsletter excerpts were handed out, and union coal miners and other workers attended the hearings, including Jennmar workers who took time off work to do so.

Testimony clearly showed the truth of workers' assertions of the company's union-busting. But UMWA activists in the plant are not sitting idle pending a decision on the unfair labor practices. According to Jim Valdez, a member of the UMWA organizing committee, "We've only just begun. I see our goal as to unionize all of the [Jennmar] plants, to make them all under one union, all brothers. This is the beginning, they can't stop us now."

Tony Dutrow is an activist in the UMWA organizing committee at Jennmar. Dave Hurst, a former activist in the committee, is now a member of the International Union of Electronic Workers in New Jersey.

LETTERS

Criminal invasion

With the news of the United States' criminal invasion of Panama I can feel nothing but pride for the Panamanian's heroic defense of their national sovereignty and nothing but shame in being a citizen of these United States of America.

While the leadership of the United States acclaims the destruction of the Berlin Wall and the revolutionary changes being wrought by the people of Eastern Europe, they hypocritically continue to maintain their oppressive, willful disregard for the rights of the people of Central America.

From the continued support of the murderers who rule El Salvador and Guatemala to the nakedly aggres-

sive invasion of the sovereign and independent nation of Panama, the truth comes shining through all the lies, explanations, and half-truths.

President Bush and the bipartisan leadership of the United States must bear total responsibility for these criminal actions. This invasion, I believe, will prove to be a quicksand from which the United States will find it impossible to extract itself.

*Ed Meredith
Caneyville, Kentucky*

No aid to El Salvador

In November several actions took place in the Bay Area protesting U.S. aid to El Salvador and expressing outrage at the murders by Salvadoran death squads of several Jesuit professors.

These actions stimulated discussion about Central America at the United Airlines maintenance base in San Francisco where I work. U.S. aid to the Salvadoran government was a theme in the "Good of the Order" portion of the November 21 meeting of my union, Local Lodge 1781 of the International Association of Machinists, which has about 10,000 members.

One of my union sisters, well-known for her support of the Eastern Airlines strike, is a student at a local Jesuit university. She spoke about the murdered Jesuits, the importance of ending U.S. aid to El Salvador, and the importance of all types of solidarity. She made a motion to send letters to President Bush and U.S. senators Alan Cranston and Pete Wilson saying our local opposed this aid.

She also made a motion to support the boycott of Salvadoran coffee.

Both motions passed by a close margin and good discussion went on in the meeting and afterward.

The next day at work I had a lot to say whenever someone came up and asked, "Hey, what happened at the union meeting last night?"

*Jan Aragon-Denno
Oakland, California*

British military 'adviser'

In one hour 727 people signed a petition condemning "the United States and British governments' support for the government of El Salvador" and calling on "the Salvadoran government to resume negotiations" with the FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front). The November 23 event



"Tis the season to be jolly, my man! We won—did you know that? Capitalism is triumphant. Communism lies in ruins. Our system prevails! We won! Smile!"

was held in a shopping street in central Manchester and organized by the Central America Solidarity Campaign.

The petition has gained support from unionists, including picketing members of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU) at British Aerospace plants in Chester and Preston.

Some workers at the Renolds' Chains plant here were surprised that the FMLN had discovered a British "military adviser" in the Sheraton Hotel in San Salvador. Washington admitted he was there before the British government issued its denial.

But another worker, born in Jamaica, commented that the British Army gives training all over Latin America.

A public meeting has been called with the sponsorship of several unions. John Tocher, secretary of the CSEU here, called on the British government "to condemn the bombing of the FENASTRAS union offices in San Salvador. Everyone is talking about democratic rights—what is wrong with Latin Americans having democratic rights?"

*Chris Morris
Manchester, Britain*

Palestinian celebration

Some 3,000 people marched in Paterson, New Jersey, November 12 in celebration of Palestine Independence Day. The march was organ-

ized by Palestinian community organizations here.

The Palestinian flag flying in front of many businesses along the march route—even in front of the post office—gave the event a bold, festive atmosphere. There was singing and dancing as the march made its way along Main Street towards city hall.

Chants of "We support the PLO. We are the PLO!" and "Long live the *intifada*!" echoed the enthusiasm of the growing Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Although most marchers were from Paterson's Palestinian community—the third largest in the United States—participants also came from Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and New York. Among those present were Arab clubs from area campuses, Paterson Mayor Frank Graves and other local politicians, and Zehdi Terzi, PLO representative to the United Nations.

*Natasha Terlexis
Jersey City, New Jersey*

Inspired by 'intifada'

Please send me information on the cost of a year-long subscription, surface mail to the Middle East.

I haven't yet had the opportunity to sell such a sub, but there is a large Arab community here. Many who work in Dearborn's factories and service sector still have relatives in the Middle East or return there. Re-

cently Arab-Americans are going back to witness the *intifada* and reintroduce their children to their culture and relatives in the West Bank.

*Denis Hoppe
Dearborn, Michigan*

African Arts Museum

The African Arts Museum in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, recently celebrated its third anniversary. Stan Simmons, the founder, has escorted hundreds on tours of the museum and hundreds more on trips to Africa where he collected the objects on view at the museum.

Early Sunday morning, December 3, a fire gutted exhibition space in the rear of the first floor and the entire basement, including a new gallery housing an ensemble of masks prepared especially for the anniversary.

Funds to help with the rebuilding can be sent to The African Arts Museum, 1063 Fulton St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11238.

*George Alvarez-Bouse
New York, New York*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Canadian gov't backs Panama invasion

Joining of OAS reflects growing concern about region

BY ART YOUNG

MONTRÉAL — When the U.S., British, and French representatives to the United Nations Security Council blocked adoption of a resolution condemning Washington's December 20 invasion of Panama, the Canadian delegate voted with them.

While this vote by the representative of the Conservative government in Ottawa didn't reflect the widespread condemnation of the invasion within Canada, including by the Liberals, the New Democratic Party, the Canadian Labour Congress, and the editors of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*, it was consistent with other recent moves of the Canadian government.

At a meeting in San Jose, Costa Rica, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced October 27 that Canada plans to join the Organization of American States. Later, when a reporter asked him if the Panama invasion

investment in the Caribbean and Latin America in 1985.

By joining the OAS, a significant policy change, Ottawa signals its determination to play a more active role, including working more closely with Washington, to try to prevent or counter revolutionary explosions in the hemisphere in the coming years. The Canadian rulers are also stepping up their drive to increase their share of Latin American and Caribbean markets.

'Ministry of colonies'

The OAS is an organization composed of the United States and 30 semicolonial countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. With its headquarters in Washington, D.C., it functioned for many decades as an arm of U.S. foreign policy. Ernesto Che Guevara, a leader of the Cuban revolution, aptly labeled the OAS the "Ministry of Colonies" of the United States.

Following the triumph of the Cuban revolution in 1959, the OAS, at Washington's urging, expelled Cuba and recommended that member countries break all relations with that country. Only the Mexican government refused to comply. It was under the cover of OAS "peacekeeping" that U.S. Marines invaded the Dominican Republic in 1965.

Several months ago, the OAS bowed to Washington's demand for efforts to oust former Panamanian military chief Manuel Noriega. But the anti-interventionist sentiments across the region led the body to express regret at the U.S. invasion of Panama and to call "for the withdrawal of the foreign troops."

During the 1960s, U.S. President John Kennedy publicly urged then Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker to apply for Canadian membership in the OAS, seeking to give the organization more credibility. But Diefenbaker turned him down, and since, the Canadian government has responded to private and public urging by Washington in the same way. Ottawa did accept observer status in the organization in 1972.

Canada, Washington's most reliable ally

in the Americas, is one of the world's economically strongest imperialist countries. There are some 800 treaties, memoranda, and agreements tying the Canadian government to military cooperation with Washington. But the Canadian ruling class calculated that its own interests, and those of the imperialist system as a whole, were better served by maintaining a degree of autonomy from certain aspects of U.S. foreign policy.

Despite strong pressure from Washington, for example, Canada has consistently refused to break diplomatic and economic relations with Cuba. While U.S. citizens are banned from traveling to Cuba, more people from Canada vacationed in Cuba last year than from any other country. Similarly, Canada has not adopted the U.S. trade embargo against Nicaragua.

No relief from Canadian bankers

When Mulroney was in Costa Rica, he ignored urgent appeals from Latin American leaders present for some relief from their crushing \$400 billion debt burden. He spoke only of "rescheduling" the debt payments.

The six big Canadian banks are owed more than \$21 billion by the countries of the region. "No Canadian banker is going to put another penny into Mexico," said one top Canadian bank official recently in response to a Mexican request for some financial relief. Mexico owes the Canadian banks about \$3.7 billion.

In 1984 the International Monetary Fund imposed harsh repayment terms on the Dominican Republic. A committee of international banks, headed by the Royal Bank of Canada, was set up to oversee the implementation of the terms. The Dominican government obeyed the bankers' dictates and slashed subsidies on basic necessities such as food and transportation, leading to a sharp rise in the cost of living. Impoverished workers, peasants, and others took to the streets in protest. The army repressed the protest in blood; more than 100 were killed.

Canadian bankers are today taking the lead in directing a similarly harsh anti-working-class program in Guyana. Guyanese trade



Prime Minister Brian Mulroney said, "We will no longer stand apart," after announcing Canada will join OAS.

unions and opposition parties have warned that the bankers' financial strictures are leading the country toward a social explosion.

In his Costa Rica speech, Mulroney declared, "We recognize that our interests are directly engaged here. We will no longer stand apart."

Writing on Canadian membership in the OAS, an editor of the Montreal daily *La Presse* put it more bluntly: "The countries of Latin America . . . should understand that Canadian policies on the debt or immigration are similar to those of Washington because they are determined by our interests; it is not because of some kind of servility to the United States. Like it or not, we, too are gringos."

By joining Organization of American States, Canada expands hemispheric role.

would affect this decision, the prime minister replied, "Do you think that a membership in the OAS requires us to take positions against the United States to be credible? Of course not."

The OAS voted 20 to one, with only the U.S. representative opposed, to condemn Washington's invasion of Panama.

The Canadian government's decision to join the OAS reflects the increasing concern by the rulers here about the signs of growing instability of imperialist domination and capitalist rule in the Caribbean and Latin America, where they have substantial economic interests. Canadian exports to Latin America totaled \$2.2 billion (Cdn\$1 = US\$0.85) in 1988, and Canadian industry is dependent on the region for a wide range of raw materials. Government figures show that Canadian capitalists had more than \$4 billion of direct

Canada, Washington's most reliable ally

ington withdraw all of its invading troops and fresh elections are held soon.

Historically, the links between working people in the Caribbean and those in Panama have been extensive. Tens of thousands of Black Panamanians trace their cultural roots

to Jamaica, Barbados, Martinique, and other islands. Their forebears went to Panama at the beginning of this century to work as cheap labor in the construction of the canal. Thousands died from diseases and exhaustion during the building of the waterway.

According to Rickey Singh, a columnist for the Barbados-based *EC News*, the Jamaican government described the invasion as "a retrograde step." He reported that former Jamaican prime minister Edward Seaga, who in 1983 was among the most vocal supporters of the U.S. invasion of Grenada, was unconvinced by the U.S. government's stated reasons for the invasion. Singh found it "significant" that no CARICOM government publicly stated any support for Washington's action.

"Coming six years after the Grenada invasion, even the U.S. government's friends in the region find it difficult to go along with the Panama invasion," he noted.

Prominent Trinidad labor leader David Abdulah condemned the invasion as a violation of Panama's sovereignty and territorial integrity and called the inauguration of Endara on a U.S. military base "a mockery of democracy." His father, who is the Anglican bishop of Trinidad, echoed the views of many church leaders throughout the region when he said it was "an abomination for a government that claims to be Christian and God-fearing" to attack Panama "five days before the birthday of the prince of peace."

Tim Hector, leader of the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement, said the "stunning fact" about the invasion was that many in the Caribbean thought that, "with

the cold war over, invasions such as had occurred in Grenada were things of the past, and so the Panama invasion came as a rude awakening."

"It shocked us into the realization," he continued, "that old-style U.S. imperialism is now using the most modern weaponry on tiny Panama, a sister country for us in the Caribbean, an extension of our region; and that it is willing, ready, and able to stomp on any country in the Americas with which it has differences."

Hector said that he was "a little pleased" that regional governments that had supported the U.S. invasion of Grenada and had provided "a figleaf of legitimacy for it" expressed a different position in the case of Panama. He regarded this as "a healthy sign."

James Millett, president of the Trinidad and Tobago Peace Council, claimed that his organization was the first in that country to denounce the invasion as illegal and immoral and, subsequently, to organize a picket at the U.S. embassy in Port-of-Spain.

His organization is calling for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Panama and for the payment of compensation by the U.S. government for all Panamanian civilians killed or wounded in the assault.

Caribbean writer and activist George Lamming expressed surprise at the forcefulness of the editorial condemnations in many conservative regional newspapers and at the extent of "grass-roots" opposition to Washington's action. He contrasted this with the "rather tepid" criticisms of Washington's intervention from governmental spokespersons.

Caribbean actions, statements score U.S. on Panama

BY DON ROJAS

Condemnation of Washington's invasion of Panama has been widespread in the Caribbean, with governments, opposition parties, the labor movement, the press, church officials, and many prominent regional personalities expressing their opposition.

Reports from Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad said people registered their outrage against the invasion with picketing at U.S. embassies, letters to newspapers, and calls to radio stations. Many viewed the invasion as an attack on the sovereignty and independence of the entire region and characterized the U.S. government as an "aggressive bully" beating up on a small, defenseless nation.

Several governments in the region who are members of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) voted for resolutions in the United Nations and the Organization of American States deplored the invasion as a flagrant violation of international law.

Only the archconservative government of Dominica, led by Prime Minister Eugenia Charles, voted against the December 29 UN General Assembly resolution sponsored by Cuba and Nicaragua that criticized the invasion. Antigua, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent abstained in the UN vote with the other CARICOM members voting for the resolution. Dominica is also the only CARICOM member to unconditionally recognize the U.S.-installed Guillermo Endara regime. Other governments such as Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago said they would recognize the Endara government on condition that Wash-



Militant/Sam Manuel
Trinidadian labor leader David Abdulah called U.S. moves a "mockery of democracy."